THE HISTORY OF ROME,

FROM

THE FOUNDATION OF THE CITY

BY

ROMULUS,

TO

THE DEATH OF MARCUS ANTONINUS.

In Three Volumes.

VOL. II.

Res Romana, quæ ab exiguis profecta initiis, eo creverit,
ut jam magnitudine laboret suâ. LIVY.

BY THE AUTHOR OF THE

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THE

CONTENTS

OF THE

SECOND VOLUME.

Chapter the Nineteenth.

Page

REVOLT of Macedon. — Andriſcus aſſumes the character of the ſon of Perſeus. — He is defeated by Metellus, who reduces Macedon to a Roman province.—Achæan league. — Commences a war with Rome. — Is defeated. — Deſtruction of Corinth. — Final reduction of Greece. — Operations in Spain.— Conduct and character of Viriatus. — He is aſſaſſinated at the inſtigation of the Romans. — Reſiſtance of the Numantians. — Their treaties with Pompey and Mancinus are violated by the Roman ſenate. — Their magnanimous conduct. — Scipio Æmilianus is appointed conſul, and preferred to the command in Spain.—His preparations. — Reduces the neighbouring cities.—Beſieges Numantia. — Cruel puniſhment of the Lutians. — The Numantians ſolicit terms of capitulation. — Anſwer of Scipio. — Deſpair of the Numantians, and deſtruction of their city. - - - 1

Chapter the Twentieth.

Page

Extraction of Tiberius Gracchus. — Reproach of his mother Cornelia. — Declares himſelf the advocate of the people. — Propoſes an Agrarian law. — His arguments in favour of it. — Oppoſition of his colleague the tribune Octavius. — Gracchus propoſes a ſecond law ſtill more ſevere. — Embarraſſed by the oppoſition of Octavius. — Appeals to the people. — Recommends to them either to depoſe Octavius or himſelf. — Degradation of Octavius. — Agrarian law paſſed. — Commiſſioners appointed to execute it. — Diviſion of the treaſures of Attalus, king of Pergamus. — He vindicates his proceedings againſt Octavius. — Stands candidate for a ſecond tribuneſhip. — Is attacked on the day of election by Scipio Naſica and a numerous body of the ſenate. — Is ſlain in the tumult. — Review of his conduct and character. - - 24

Chapter the Twenty-Firſt.

Conceſſions of the ſenate to appeaſe the people on the death of Tiberius. — Dread of Scipio. — He approves the death of Gracchus, and ſupports the ſenate. — State of Sicily. — Of the ſlaves in that iſland. — Character of Eunus. — Pretends to the power of effecting miracles. — Is ſucceſsful in four campaigns againſt the Romans, — Is defeated by Rutilius, who extinguiſhes the firſt ſervile war. — Ariſtonicus aſpires to the throne of Pergamus; — defeats and takes priſoner the conſul Craſſus; — is himſelf vanquiſhed and made captive by Perpenna. — Commiſſion to obſerve the affairs of Aſia and Egypt. — Domeſtic diſſenſions. — Laws propoſed by the tribune Papirius Carbo. — Oppoſed by Scipio and Lælius. — Daring attempt

Page

attempt of the tribune Atinius on Metellus, surnamed Macedonicus. — Conduct of Scipio Æmilianus. — The senate determine to confer on him the authority of dictator. — His sudden and mysterious death. — He is interred privately. - - - - - - 43

Chapter the Twenty-Second.

Fulvius Flaccus appointed consul. — Proposes to admit the Italian allies to the privileges of Roman citizens. — Revives the Agrarian law. — Is diverted from the design by an invasion of the Transalpine Gauls. — Character of Caius Gracchus. — Serves as quæstor in Sardinia. — Returns to Rome. — His defence. — Sues for, and obtains the tribuneship. — Remonstrances of Cornelia. — Edicts proposed by Caius. — He is re-elected tribune. — Recommends and obtains the election of Fannius Strabo as consul. — Strips the senate of judicial authority. — Espouses the cause of the Italian allies. — Is opposed by Fannius. — Arts of the senate. — Caius and Fulvius are appointed to settle a colony at Carthage. — They return to Rome. — Caius stands a third time for the tribuneship, but is rejected. — Lucius Opimius is chosen consul. — Proposes to repeal the edicts of Caius. — Tumults at Rome. — Conflict on mount Aventine. — Deaths of Fulvius Flaccus and Caius Gracchus. — Cruelty of Opimius. — Combats of gladiators. - - - - - - - - - - - - - 56

Chapter the Twenty-Third.

Wars with the Allobroges and Dalmatians. — Formidable migration of the Cimbri; — they defeat the consul Papirius Carbo. — Origin of the Jugurthine

Page

war. — Interference of the Romans. — Jugurtha is ſummoned to Rome; — his intrigues; — murders Maſſiva; — is ordered to quit Italy. — War with Numidia. — The Roman army is ſurrounded by the Numidians, and compelled to capitulate. — The ſenate determine to continue the war. — Metellus is appointed to the command in Numidia; — his rapid ſucceſs. — Diſtreſs of Jugurtha. — Origin and character of Marius; — his firmneſs as tribune; — is choſen lieutenant to Metellus; — returns to Rome, and ſues for the conſulſhip; — his addreſs to the people; — he ſupercedes Metellus; — ſurpriſes Thapſa; — poſſeſſes himſelf of the treaſures of Jugurtha; — defeats the armies of Numidia and Mauritania. — Sylla is appointed quæſtor to the army of Marius. — He is diſpatched to negociate with Bocchus; — he prevails on Bocchus to deliver up Jugurtha. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 85

Chapter the Twenty-Fourth.

Triumph of Marius. — Fate of Jugurtha. — Invaſion of the Cimbri. — Their ſucceſſive victories. — Appointment of Servilius Cæpio to Tranſalpine Gaul. — His imprudence and defeat. — Terror of the Romans. — Marius is choſen conſul. — Paſſes into Gaul. — Is continued in the conſulſhip. — He vanquiſhes near Aquæ Sextiæ the Teutones and Ambrones. — Panic of the army of Catulus. — Marius joins Catulus. — They defeat the Cimbri. — Total deſtruction of the barbarians. — Triumph of Marius and Catulus. — Revolt of Vettius. — Second Servile war. — Character and ſucceſs of Salvius. — Of Athenio. — Victory of Lucullus. — Operations of Athenio.

Page

Athenio. — His defeat and death. — Deſtruction of his followers. — Concluſion of the ſecond Servile war. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 107

Chapter the Twenty-Fifth.

Sixth conſulſhip of Marius. — Confederacy with Saturninus and Glaucia. — Commotion at Rome. — Artifice of Marius. — Baniſhment of Metellus. — Violence of Saturninus. — He ſeizes the capitol. — Is reduced to ſurrender. — Is put to death with his aſſociates by the people. — Recall of Metellus. — Marius viſits Aſia. — Character of Mithridates. — Seizes Cappadocia. — Sylla is choſen prætor. — Is commiſſioned to reſtore Ariarathes to the throne of Cappadocia. — Receives an embaſſy from the Parthians. — New diſturbances at Rome. — Conduct of Livius Druſus. — His death. — Confederacy of the Italian allies. — Demand the freedom of Rome. — Refuſal of the ſenate. — Social war. — Defeat of Rutilius. — Inactivity of Marius. — Exploits of Sylla. — Policy of Rome. — Concluſion of the Social war. — Obſervations on extending the freedom of Rome to Italy. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 128

Chapter the Twenty-Sixth.

Progreſs of Mithridates. — Sylla is appointed to command againſt him. — Jealouſy of Marius. — Intrigues of the tribune Sulpicius. — Commotions at Rome. — Sylla advances with an army againſt the capital; — expels and baniſhes Marius; — proceeds to the war againſt Mithridates. — Conduct of Cinna; — he is oppoſed by Octavius. — Bloody tumult at Rome. — Cinna is degraded; — is ſupported by the army at Capua; —

Page

Capua; — recalls Marius. — Adventures of Marius; — he is joined by his ſon in Africa; — he lands in Italy; — aſſembles an army; — refuſes the title of pro-conſul; — ſtorms Oſtia; — inveſts Rome in conjunction with Cinna and Sertorius. — Deſpair of the ſenate; — they ſend commiſſioners to treat with Cinna, who is reinſtated in the office of conſul. — Baniſhment of Marius repealed; — his cruelty; — he ſeizes the conſulſhip; — his terrors and death. - - 139

Chapter the Twenty-Seventh.

Sylla beſieges and takes Athens. — Defeats the armies of Mithridates at Chæronea and Orchomenos. — Mithridates treats of peace. — Sylla is declared an enemy by the Roman ſenate. — He penetrates into Aſia; — concludes a peace with Mithridates; — corrupts the Roman army commanded by Fimbria; — returns to Europe. — Preparations of the Marian party. — Death of Cinna. — Sylla lands at Brunduſium; — is joined by Metellus and Pompey; — vanquiſhes Norbanus, and corrupts the army of Scipio; — defeats the younger Marius; — poſſeſſes himſelf of Rome. — Battles of Cluſium and Antemnæ. — Præneſte is taken, and Marius ſlain. — Maſſacre and proſcription at Rome. — Sylla ſeizes the authority of dictator. — His regulations. — Succeſs of Pompey in Sicily, and fate of Carbo. — Pompey obtains the ſurname of Great, and the honours of triumph. — Reſignation and death of Sylla. - - - - - - - 161

Chapter the Twenty-Eighth.

Diſpoſition of the legions and people of Rome. — Marcus Æmilius Lepidus is choſen conſul by the influence of

Page

of Pompey. — He endeavours to repeal the acts of Sylla. — Conspires against the republic. — Marches to Rome. — Is defeated by Catulus. — Dies in Sardinia. — Exploits of Pompey in Cisalpine Gaul. — Marian party supported in Spain by Sertorius. — His conduct and victories. — Is opposed by Metellus and Pompey.—Reduces Laura in the sight of Pompey.— Battle on the banks of the Sucro — Sertorius is assassinated by Perpenna, who is soon after vanquished and put to death by Pompey. — Account of the Servile war. — Successes of Spartacus. — Victory of Crassus. — Competition between Crassus and Pompey. — Gabinian law. — Pompey destroys the pirates. — Metellus reduces Crete. - - - - - - 195

Chapter the Twenty-Ninth.

Hostilities commenced by Mithridates. — Invades Cappadocia and Phrygia. — Appointment of Lucullus and Cotta. — The latter defeated by land and sea.— Victories of Lucullus. — Mithridates seeks refuge in the dominions of Tigranes, king of Armenia. — He is claimed as a prisoner by Lucullus. — Refusal of Tigranes. — Lucullus invades Armenia. — His victories. — Mutiny of his troops. — Advantages gained by Tigranes and Mithridates. — Pompey is appointed to succeed Lucullus. — Their interview.— Exploits of Pompey. — Defeats Mithridates. — Receives the submission of Tigranes.—Establishes Hyrcanus in the priesthood of Jerusalem. — Resumes the war against Mithridates. — Project of that prince to invade Italy. — Revolt of his army in favour of his son Pharnaces. — Death of Mithridates. — His character. — Pompey returns towards Italy. - - 213

CONTENTS.

Chapter the Thirtieth.

Page

State of Rome. — Character of Cataline. — Conſpires with Sylla and Antonius.—Is accuſed of extortion.— Aſpires to the conſulſhip. — Character of Cicero.— Second conſpiracy of Cataline. — Characters of his aſſociates, Lentulus, Cethegus, &c. — Cicero and Antonius are choſen conſuls. — Meaſures taken by Cataline. — He is propoſed and rejected a ſecond time as conſul. — Is accuſed by Cicero in the ſenate. — He quits Rome. — Intrigues of the other conſpirators detected. — Debate on their puniſhment. — Character of Caius Julius Cæſar. — Of Marcus Porcius Cato.—Decree of the ſenate. — Execution of the conſpirators. — Situation of Cataline. — He engages the army of the conſul Antonius. — His defeat and death. - - - - - - - 236

Chapter the Thirty-Firſt.

State of parties at Rome. — Influence of Craſſus. — Of Pompey. — Triumph of the latter. — Retreat of Lucullus. — Cæſar is appointed to the government of Luſitania.—On his return declares himſelf a candidate for the conſulſhip. — Negociates an alliance with Pompey and Craſſus. — Firſt triumvirate. — Cæſar is choſen conſul. — Agrarian law. — Is appointed by the people to the government of Gaul. — Beſtows his daughter Julia on Pompey. — The triumvirs diſcontented with Cicero. — Character of Clodius. — Attack on Cicero. — Puſillanimity of the latter. — He retires into exile. — Cæſar aſſumes the command of Gaul. — His victories over the Helvetii. — Defeats the Germans commanded by Arioviſtus.—

Page

viſtus. — Reduces ſeveral cantons of the Belgæ. — Overcomes the Nervii and Attuaci. — Behaviour of Cicero in exile. — Lawleſs conduct of Clodius. — Motion for the recall of Cicero. — Reſiſted by Clodius. — The violence of the latter is oppoſed by force by Milo. — Cicero is recalled by the unanimous ſuffrage of the centuries. - - - - - - - 261

Chapter the Thirty-Second.

Conduct of Cicero.—Commiſſion aſſigned to Pompey to provide for the ſubſiſtence of the capital.—Oppoſition of the ariſtocratic party to the triumvirs.—Pompey and Craſſus are choſen conſuls.—Diviſion of the provinces. — Cæſar is confirmed in the government of Gaul. — Pompey is appointed to Spain. — Craſſus to Syria. — The latter prepares to invade Parthia. — Is ſolemnly devoted to deſtruction by the tribune Attei. — Operations of Craſſus in the Eaſt. — He ravages Meſopotamia. — Is betrayed by Acbarus. — His defeat and death. — Ptolomy is expelled from Egypt. — Is reſtored by Gabinius. — Progreſs of Cæſar in Gaul. — He invades Britain. — Second invaſion of Britain. — Defeat of Caſivelanus. — His ſubmiſſion. — Revolt of the Gauls. — They are finally ſubdued. - - - - - - - - - - - - - 283

Chapter the Thirty-Third.

State of parties at Rome.—Corruption of the people. —Milo ſtands for conſul. — Tumults that enſue.— — He encounters and kills Clodius. — Pompey is declared ſole conſul. — Trial of Milo. — He is defended by Cicero. — He is condemned. —

Retires

Page

Retires into baniſhment. — Cæſar obtains the privilege of ſuing for the conſulſhip in his abſence. — Cato offers himſelf as conſul, and is rejected. — Incurſion of the Parthians repelled by Caſſius. — Appointment of Cicero to the government of Cilicia. — His conduct in that province. — Intrigues of Cæſar. — Character of Curio. — The ſenate become jealous of the deſigns of Cæſar. — Cæſar gains Curio to his party. — He diſpatches Mark Antony to Rome. — Character of Antony. — Security of Pompey. — Motion to recall Cæſar is oppoſed by Curio. — Is renewed and confirmed by the ſenate. — Oppoſition of the tribunes Antony and Caſſius. — Decree of the ſenate to provide for the ſecurity of the republic. — Antony, Caſſius, and Curio quit Rome in diſguiſe, and repair to Cæſar. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 306

Chapter the Thirty-Fourth.

Cæſar determines to invade Italy. — Addreſs to his troops at Ravenna. — Paſſes the Rubicon, and ſurpriſes Ariminum. — Flight of Pompey and the ſenate from Rome. — Cæſar beſieges and reduces Corfinium. — His clemency. — Inveſts Pompey in Brunduſium. — Retreat of Pompey into Greece. — Cæſar occupies the capital. — Seizes the public treaſure. — Quits Rome. — Lays ſiege to Marſeilles. — Penetrates into Spain. — Campaign on the Segra. — Diſtreſs of Cæſar. — Addreſs with which he extricates himſelf. — Capitulation of Petreius and Afranius. — Cæſar returns to Marſeilles. — Capitulation of that city. — Corcyra is reduced by Pompey. — Expedition of Curio. — Poſſeſſes himſelf of Sicily. — Invades Africa. — His firſt ſucceſſes. — Juba, king of Numidia, advances

Page

vances to the ſupport of Varus, the lieutenant of Pompey.—Curio's army is ſurrounded and defeated. —Death of Curio. - - - - - - - - - - - 330

Chapter the Thirty-Fifth.

Preparations of Pompey. — Collects the forces of the Eaſt. — Aſſemblies a conſiderable fleet.—Is joined by Cicero and the moſt illuſtrious of the ſenate. — Cæſar proceeds to Rome. — Quells at Placentia a mutiny of his troops. — Is inveſted with the title of dictator. — Reſigns that office, and is choſen conſul with Servilius Iſauricus. — Prepares to purſue Pompey into Macedonia. — Embarks at Brunduſium, and lands in Epirus. — Propoſes terms of accommodation. — They are rejected by Pompey. — Cæſar marches towards Dyracchium. — Encamps on the banks of the Apſus. — Is joined by reſt of his forces from Italy. — Attempts to beſiege Pompey in his camp. — His works are forced. — Unſucceſsful ſkirmiſh. — He retires into Theſſaly. — Encamps on the banks of the Enipeus. — Is followed by Pompey.— —Battle of Pharſalia. — Defeat and flight of Pompey.—Arrives on the coaſt of Egypt. —Is aſſaſſinated by Septimius, a Roman deſerter.— Funeral rites performed by his freed-man Philip - - - - - - - 346

Chapter the Thirty-Sixth

Cæſar arrives in Egypt. — Is preſented with the head of Pompey. — His concern. — Eſpouſes the party of Cleopatra. — Military operations in Egypt. — Defeat and death of Ptolomy. — Arrangement in Egypt. — Cæſar encounters and vanquiſhes Pharnaces. — Returns to Rome. — Interview with Cicero. — Civil adminiſtration. — Conduct of Cato after the battle

of

Page

of Pharſalia. — He purſues his march into Africa. — Mutiny of the army in Italy. — Is quelled by the addreſs and reſolution of Cæſar. — He embarks for Africa. — Account of the campaign in that province. — Battle of Thapſus. — Death of Cato. — Extinction of the republican party in Africa. — Cæſar on his return to Rome is inveſted with the authority of dictator. — His addreſs to the Roman people. — Revolt of Spain. — Cæſar marches to the defence of that province. — Battle of Munda. — Death of Cnæus Pompey. — New projects of Cæſar. — He meditates the invaſion of Parthia. — Aſpires to the crown. — Conſpiracy againſt him. — Character of Marcus Brutus. — Of Caius Caſſius — Conduct of Porcia. — Death and Character of Cæſar. - - - - - - 366

Chapter the Thirty-Seventh.

Conduct of the conſpirators. — They poſſeſs themſelves of the capital. — State of parties at Rome. — Meaſures of Antony. — Acts of Cæſar confirmed. — Interview between Antony and Lepidus, and Brutus and Caſſius. — Will and funeral of Cæſar. — Tumult of the populace. — The conſpirators leave Rome. — Antony ingratiates himſelf with the veterans. — Negociates with Sextus Pompey. — Obtains for himſelf the province of Macedonia, and that of Syria for Dolabella. — Octavius arrives at Rome. — Differs with Antony. — He is ſupported by Cicero. — Sedition of the troops. — Antony quits Rome to poſſeſs himſelf of Ciſalpine Gaul. — Inveſts Decimus Brutus in Mutina. — Actions before that city. — Deaths of the conſuls Hirtius and Panſa. — Flight of Antony towards the Alps. — Succeſs of Marcus Brutus in Macedonia. — Of Caſſius in Syria. — Fate of Dolabella. — Antony is joined by the armies of Gaul

and

Page

and Spain. — Octavius is made conſul. — Is diſcontented with the ſenate. — His interview with Antony and Lepidus. — New triumvirate. — Edict of proſcription. — Death of Marcus Tullius Cicero - 405

Chapter the Thirty-Eighth.

Sextus Pompey aſſembles a fleet, and ſeizes Sicily. — Lepidus is appointed to the adminiſtration of Rome. — Octavius and Antony croſs the ſea, and land with their forces at Dyracchium. — Caius Antonius, the brother of the triumvir, is put to death by Brutus. — Brutus and Caſſius join their armies at Smyrna. — They proſecute the war in Aſia. — Caſſius defeats the fleet of Rhodes, and reduces that iſland. — Brutus penetrates into Lycia. — Siege of Xanthus. — Deſpair of the Xanthians. — Humanity of Brutus. — Brutus and Caſſius croſs the Helleſpont. — Review their army. — Addreſs of Caſſius to the troops. — An apparition ſeen by Brutus. — The republican army encamps near Phillippi. — Octavius and Antony advance to the defence of Amphipolis. — Firſt action. — Death of Caſſius. — Second action. — Death of Brutus. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 426

Chapter the Thirty-Ninth.

Sextus Pompey defends Sicily. — The triumvirs make a new diviſion of the empire. — Antony's progreſs through the Eaſt. — His interview with Cleopatra. — He follows her to Alexandria. — Adminiſtration of Octavius in Italy. — He is oppoſed by Fulvia and Lucius Antony. — Compels Lucius Antony to ſurrender in Perugia. — Fulvia quits Italy. — Her interview with Antony, who lands in Italy and beſieges Brunduſium. — Enters into alli-

ance

Page

ance with Pompey. — Accommodation between the triumvirs. — Marriage of Antony with Octavia. — Treaty with Pompey. — Exploits of Ventidius in the East. — Rupture between Octavius and Pompey. — First operations of Octavius unsuccessful. — He lands In Sicily. — Pompey is defeated in a naval engagement, and flies to Asia. — Fate of Lepidus. — Expedition of Antony against the Parthians. — Besieges Praaspa. — Is compelled to raise the siege. — Effects his retreat with difficulty. — Conduct of Pompey in Asia. — His death and character. - - - - - - 441

Chapter the Fortieth.

Attachment of Antony to Cleopatra. — His invasion of Armenia. — Seizes the person of the Armenian king. — Conquers Armenia. — Triumphal entry into Alexandria. — Bestows several of the Eastern provinces on his sons by Cleopatra. — Conduct of Octavius. — Wars with the Dalmatians and Pannonians. — Adorns Rome. — Magnificence of Agrippa. — Antony forbids Octavia from visiting the East. — Rupture between him and Octavius. — They mutually promise to restore the republic. — Octavius passes into Greece. — Preparations of Antony. — His extravagance. — Battle of Actium. — Flight of Cleopatra. — Is followed by Antony. — Fleet of Antony destroyed. — His army surrenders. — He retires to Alexandria. — Resumes his former life of luxury. — Octavius penetrates into Egypt. — Advances towards Alexandria. — Action before that city. — Antony is deserted by all his forces. — His death. — Octavius enters Alexandria. — Death of Cleopatra. - - - 458

THE

THE HISTORY OF ROME.

Chapter the Nineteenth.

REVOLT OF MACEDON. — ANDRISCUS ASSUMES THE CHARACTER OF THE SON OF PERSES. — HE IS DEFEATED BY METELLUS, WHO REDUCES MACEDON TO A ROMAN PROVINCE. — ACHÆAN LEAGUE. — COMMENCES A WAR WITH ROME. — IS DEFEATED. — DESTRUCTION OF CORINTH. — FINAL REDUCTION OF GREECE. — OPERATIONS IN SPAIN. — CONDUCT AND CHARACTER OF VIRIATUS. — HE IS ASSASINATED AT THE INSTIGATION OF THE ROMANS. — RESISTANCE OF THE NUMANTIANS. — THEIR TREATIES WITH POMPEY AND MANCINUS ARE VIOLATED BY THE ROMAN SENATE. — THEIR

MAGNANIMOUS CONDUCT. — SCIPIO ÆMILIANUS IS APPOINTED CONSUL, AND PREFERRED TO THE COMMAND IN SPAIN. — HIS PREPARATIONS. — REDUCES THE NEIGHBOURING CITIES. — BESIEGES NUMANTIA. — CRUEL PUNISHMENT OF THE LUTIANS. — THE NUMANTIANS SOLICIT TERMS OF CAPITULATION. — ANSWER OF SCIPIO. — DESPAIR OF THE NUMANTIANS, AND DESTRUCTION OF THEIR CITY.

U. C. 605, 607. WHILE the deſpair of the Carthaginians ſtill baffled the arms of the Romans, their example arouſed the ſtates of Greece and the tribes of Spain to aſſert again their native independence. In Macedon, Andriſcus, an African adventurer of obſcure birth, had aſſumed the name of Philip, and the character of the ſon of Perſes. The Macedonians eagerly flocked to his ſtandard; and the prætor Juventius Thalna, in a raſh attempt to penetrate through the paſſes they had occupied, loſt his life and the greateſt part of his army. Theſſaly immediately acknowledged the authority of the victor: But his tranſient reign was extinguiſhed by the preſence and abilities of Quintus Cæcilius

cilius Metellus. The pretended ſon of Perſes was defeated in two engagements; the firſt in Macedon, the laſt in Thrace. He in vain implored the protection of one of the barbarian princes of that country; he was delivered up to the Romans. A ſecond impoſtor, who aſſumed the ſame origin, and who was diſtinguiſhed by the name of Alexander, was compelled by Metellus to ſeek an aſylum in Dardania; and Macedon, by theſe ſucceſſive revolts, afforded the Romans a pretence for reducing the kingdom to the form of a dependent province.

The Achæan league would probably have been diſſolved in its own weakneſs; but its extinction was precipitated by preſumption and impatience. The republic of Lacedæmon, mindful of her former greatneſs, had reluctantly conſented to blend her own fame in the general title of the confederates. The ſenate of Rome had fomented her diſcontent, and encouraged her to ſolicit their mediation. But the ſpirit of the Achæan league ill brooked ſo open a violation of their fundamental inſtitutions; regardleſs of the admonitions of Metellus, who urged them to wait the arrival of the Roman commiſſaries, they prepared to chaſtiſe the contumacy of the Lacedæmonians by arms: The latter were vanquiſhed in a deciſive engagement; and the ſubſequent decree of the ſenate of Rome,

that they ſhould hereafter, with Corinth, Argos, Heraclea, and Orchomenos, remain independent of the Æchæan league, was received by that body with contempt and deriſion.

The Romans had flattered themſelves with the hope of ſilently extending their influence over Greece, and of gradually acquiring the ſovereignty of her various ſtates without any extraordinary convulſion. From this pleaſing deluſion they were awakened by the formidable preparations of the Achæans, who, in the reſiſtance of Carthage, fondly imagined the moment was arrived of ſetting bounds to the ambition of the Italian republic. The forces of the Achæans were ſwelled by thoſe of Thebes and Eubœa, and were entruſted to Critolaus, who, with the title of prætor, poſſeſſed the chief authority in the Grecian confederacy. But their dreams of victory vaniſhed on the appearance of Metellus; who from eſtabliſhing the tranquillity of Macedon, rapidly advanced to reſtore that of Greece. The confederates abandoned, or were driven from the celebrated ſtraits of Thermopylæ. In their retreat through Phocis, they were intercepted near Scarphea; and the loſs of their leader may be eſteemed the leaſt that they ſuſtained. Diæus, who ſucceeded him in command, was diſtinguiſhed by the ſame enmity to Rome, and had diligently aſ-

ſembled

ſembled a new army to check the progreſs of the victor, who from the reduction of Thebes directed his march towards Corinth: But the weakneſs or incapacity of the confederates again expoſed them to defeat; and Metellus impatiently preſſed forwards to the conqueſt of Corinth; when the rich reward of his martial toils was intercepted by the appointment of Mummius to the conſular dignity, and to the command in Greece.

Beneath the walls of the city of Corinth the expiring independence of Greece was diſplayed in a laſt and impotent ſtruggle with the legions of Rome. From the diſaſtrous field Diæus continued his flight to Megalopolis, and delivered himſelf, by poiſon, from beholding the ſubjection of his country. The gates of Corinth were opened to the victor; and the defenceleſs multitude, by the revenge of Rome, or the implacable ſpirit of Mummius, were involved in a promiſcuous maſſacre. The lofty walls were levelled to the ground; the magnificent edifices were abandoned to the flames; but the ſtatues and pictures were preſerved by the vanity of the conqueror to adorn his triumph. Yet the rude Roman was ill capable of diſcerning or diſtinguiſhing the exquiſite productions of Grecian art. The picture of Bacchus, by Ariſtides, eſteemed the

moſt maſterly that ancient genius had produced, was bought in the ſale of the plunder by the king of Pergamus, at the price of ſix hundred thouſand ſeſterces, or about four thouſand eight hundred pounds ſterling. The jealouſy of the conſul was awakened by the magnitude of the ſum; blind to the beauties of the piece, he conceived it muſt have been endowed with ſome important magical powers; he reſumed it from the royal purchaſer, and tranſmitted it to Rome to be placed in the temple of Ceres: But the charge that he delivered to the maſter of the veſſel, who was entruſted to tranſport the invaluable freight of painting and ſculpture, ſufficiently atteſts his ignorance; "That if any were loſt he "ſhould replace them at his own coſt."

The ſame year involved in the ſame deſtruction Corinth and Carthage; the fortifications of Thebes were demoliſhed; and the cities of Greece moſt impatient of the ſuperiority of Rome, were carefully diſmantled. The Romans no longer concealed their deſigns beneath the veil of moderation; their luſt of dominion ſtood confeſſed; the Achæan league was diſſolved; and the ſtates which compoſed it, deprived of their ſovereignty and ſubjected to tribute, were placed under the government of a perſon annually ſent from Rome, with the title of *Prætor of Achaia*.

In

In Spain the flames of war ſtill continued to burn with inceſſant yet diminiſhed fury; and the natives, though frequently defeated, ſtill diſplayed the ſame intractable ſpirit, and diſdained to acquieſce under the yoke of the invaders. The Roman territory in that country had been divided into two provinces, which were diſtinguiſhed by the titles of *further* and *hither* Spain; and which ſufficiently exerciſed the vigilance and ability of two ſeparate commanders, who were annually ſent from Rome.

Againſt that ſtubborn courage which reſiſted open force, the Roman leaders condeſcended to employ the dangerous and diſgraceful reſources of art and perfidy. The inhabitants of Pauca had opened their gates to the proconſul Lucullus, on terms of capitulation which ſtipulated the payment of one hundred talents, and the future ſervice of the cavalry in the quality of auxiliaries; but the faithleſs Roman was no ſooner admitted within their walls, than he let looſe the rage and avarice of his followers; the city was delivered to pillage; and of twenty thouſand citizens, ſcarce five hundred eſcaped to accuſe the bloody cruelty of Lucullus.

In Luſitania, the prætor Galba ſtained the Roman name by a repetition of the ſame frauds as had been practiſed by Lucullus. A conſiderable

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number of the Luſitanians had offered to ſubmit to the authority of Rome. The prætor affected to liſten with compaſſion to their diſtreſs, and promiſed them in a more fertile region thoſe advantages which their own country denied; but they were ſcarcely ſeparated before they had reaſon to repent their fond confidence in the Roman faith: They were attacked, defenceleſs and diſunited; and the few who eſcaped, ſerved only to inflame their countrymen with an implacable deteſtation of Rome.

Revenge had collected an army of Luſitanians, who retaliated on the Spaniſh territories of Rome the injuries that had been inflicted on their countrymen; but their impatience betrayed them into the midſt of a rugged and mountainous country, the defiles of which had been occupied by the Romans. The difficulties which preſented themſelves on every ſide induced them to treat with Vetilius, who had ſucceeded Galba in command; and the Roman leader readily promiſed, on condition that they ſhould acknowledge the ſovereignty of Rome, to aſſign them lands that might ſupply ſubſiſtence to the induſtry of agriculture. But the treaty was broken by the daring remonſtrances of Viriatus, who in the obſcure ſituation of a private ſoldier, poſſeſſed the talent of a general, and the ſoul of a hero. "Re-

"member,"

" member," ſaid he, to his companions, " the " perfidy of Lucullus and of Galba; reſpect my " counſels, and I will engage to deliver you from " the ſnare in which you are entangled." The tone of confidence which he aſſumed inſpired new hope in the deſponding boſoms of the Luſitanians; they committed themſelves to his ſuperior genius; and their obedience was rewarded by immediate ſafety. While with a thouſand horſe he expoſed an extended line to the Roman legions, and affected to prepare for a general engagement, he directed the reſt of the army in ſmall parties to purſue ſeparate and unfrequented paths, which he himſelf had explored in ſearch of game or of ſpoil; and to aſſemble again under the walls of Tribola. His orders were executed with promptitude and ſucceſs; and no ſooner was he aſſured of the retreat of his infantry, than he followed with his horſe their footſteps, with a ſwiftneſs and dexterity that eluded all purſuit.

If we may credit the Roman hiſtorians, the youth of Viriatus had been devoted to the toils of the chace, or the more daring but more diſhonourable practices of robbery. But the ſpirit of the hardy hunter or licentious rover ſoon emerged from obſcurity and diſgrace; by his late ſervices he was eſtabliſhed in the command of the army that he had preſerved; and his ſuperior

fame attracted to his ſtandard a crowd of Luſitanians, inured to danger and enamoured of independence.

If the reſentment of Rome has been indulged in debaſing the early ſituation of Viriatus, her impartiality has at leaſt been diſplayed in the acknowledgment of his virtues. His temperance and chaſtity in private life, his faith and generoſity in public, have been recorded by the teſtimony of Livy. Prudent, ſagacious, and magnanimous, his head and hand were ſucceſsfully employed to check the rapid progreſs of Roman dominion. He ſeems to have poſſeſſed the peculiar art of directing the impetuous valour of his countrymen againſt troops not leſs brave and better diſciplined than themſelves. With him flight was the frequent prelude to victory; and he was never more terrible than in the moment when he ſeemed to dread or to ſhun his enemy. For ten years his genius and valour protected the freedom of Luſitania, and repreſſed the pride of Rome; and at the moment of his death he had projected an extenſive confederacy throughout the tribes of Spain, which, had he ſurvived to have cemented it, might have preſcribed bounds to the ambition of the Roman republic.

The firſt who felt his arms, and was enſnared by his arts, was Vetilius himſelf; who, impatient of the triumph which had evaded his graſp in Turdetania,

tania, preſſed forward to ſeize it under the walls of Tribola: But as he urged his march with incautious ſpeed, through a country embarraſſed by woods and broken by mountains, he was ſuddenly aſſailed by the fierce and numerous bands of Viriatus. The legions confeſſed the impreſſions of ſurprize, and were confounded by the rapid and deſultory attacks of their adverſaries: They fled; and of ten thouſand, near one half periſhed in the action or purſuit. Vetilius himſelf fell alive into the hands of the victors; but the barbarians, accuſtomed only to eſteem their captives in proportion to their vigour and activity, regarded with contempt his age and corpulence, and the ſword of a Luſitanian deprived Viriatus of the glory of detaining in chains a Roman general.

During three years, the names of Hypſæus, of Unimanus, and Figulus, diſtinguiſhed the commanders who were ſucceſſively defeated by Viriatus; the former, on the banks of the Tagus, beheld the deſtruction of his whole army, and eſcaped with difficulty the fate of Vetilius. The importance of the Luſitanian war arouſed the Romans to more formidable exertions; the deſtruction of Carthage and Corinth left them at liberty to direct their entire forces againſt Spain; and the appointment of Quintus Fabius Æmilianus, the brother of the younger Scipio, to U. C. 608, 613.

the

the dignity of conſul, and to the command of the army that was to act againſt Viriatus, ſufficiently reveals their dread of the Luſitanian leader.

Yet the expectations that had been raiſed by the nomination of Fabius were expoſed to the ſame diſappointment as had attended thoſe of his predeceſſors; notwithſtanding Viriatus frequently offered him battle, the conſulate of Æmilianus expired without his being able to obtain any deciſive advantage over his adverſary, or even daring to accept his challenge. By the influence of Scipio he was prolonged in his military command as proconſul a ſecond year; and although the Roman writers aſſert that he at laſt vanquiſhed in battle the Luſitanian chief, yet the ſtrength of the latter appears to have been ſtill unimpaired, and he defeated the two enſuing years Quinctius and Servilianus, the ſucceſſors of Fabius.

The ambition of Viriatus aſpired to the ſovereignty of the country that he had protected, and his prudence induced him to ſeize the moment of proſperity to conclude an advantageous peace. The fears of Servilianus were improved by the addreſs of the Luſitanian; and a treaty was ſigned by the former, and confirmed by the ſenate of Rome, by which Viriatus was acknowledged as the friend and ally of the Roman people, and the Luſitanians were permitted to retain thoſe diſtricts which they at that time were actually poſſeſſed of.

If

If the dignity of the Roman republic ſuffered in this negociation, her reputation was more fatally wounded by the perfidy with which ſhe broke it, and the infamous arts to which ſhe deſcended to deliver herſelf from a brave and unſuſpecting rival. In the allotment of the provinces, Further Spain had fallen to Quintus Servilius Cæpio, who, indignant at the conceſſions of his predeceſſor, preſſed the Roman ſenate for permiſſion to renew the war againſt Viriatus. That aſſembly was but too indulgent to ſolicitations which promiſed the aggrandiſement of the republic; and the immediate intereſt of Rome was preferred to her honour; at the head of a well-appointed and numerous army, Cæpio advanced with celerity towards Arſa, which Viriatus had fondly deſtined for his future capital.

The Luſitanian, who repoſed in ſecurity on the faith of the Roman ſenate, heard with aſtoniſhment the hoſtile ſound of the Roman trumpet; he abandoned Arſa, which he was incapable of defending, and retired amidſt the defiles of the mountains of Carpetania: He was purſued and encompaſſed by Cæpio; but the ſame arts which had delivered the Luſitanians from the arms of Vetilius were again practiſed with ſucceſs againſt Cæpio; and though the weakneſs of the barbarians allowed them not to chaſtiſe the perfidy, the ſkill of their commander enabled them to elude the vengeance of Rome.

While

While Viriatus, with a ſlender band which had been haſtily aſſembled, ſtill maintained the glory of his name, his thoughts were inceſſantly directed towards peace; and his earneſt wiſhes to deliver his country from the calamities of war induced him to open a negociation with the Roman conſul. Cæpio affected to liſten with pleaſure to the terms that were propoſed; but beneath the appearance of conciliation he nouriſhed a dark deſign, as injurious to his own honour as to that of Rome. The deputies who had been entruſted by Viriatus to conduct the treaty, were corrupted by the gold and ſplendid promiſes of his enemies: They agreed to aſſaſſinate the defender of their country; and they performed the engagement with infamous fidelity. Viriatus had deſerved, and he confided in, the affection and attachment of his followers; the tent of the Luſitanian chief was unprotected by guards or ſentinels, and was open to acceſs at every hour to the meaneſt ſoldier. At midnight, as he indulged in his armour a ſhort and neceſſary reſpite from the toils and cares of his ſtation, he was aſſailed by the daggers of the conſpirators; their murderous weapons were plunged into his throat, the only part expoſed; the mortal fury of their ſtrokes deprived him inſtantly of life; and he expired ignorant of the ingratitude and treachery of thoſe whom he had loved and truſted.

The

The traitors haſtened to the Roman camp, to claim the reward of their crime; but the liberality of Cæpio was extinguiſhed with the breath of Viriatus; he allowed the aſſaſſins to retain what they had already received, but for any further gratification he coldly referred them to the Roman ſenate. The Luſitanians lamented the loſs, and honoured the memory, of their unfortunate general; but they were incapable of avenging his fate. His ſucceſſor, Tantalus, ſunk beneath the difficulties of his ſituation; his army were by a diſgraceful capitulation ſtripped of their arms, and were diſperſed by the policy of the victors to different and diſtant colonies: The incurſions of the Romans were extended throughout the weſtern and northern provinces of Spain; an army under Brutus paſſed the Duero, and penetrated to the coaſt of Gallicia; and Rome might liſten with admiration to the fabulous tales of her enterpriſing ſons, who boldly affirmed they had beheld, in thoſe remote regions, the ſun yield to the approach of evening, and ſink into the Weſtern Ocean with a mighty and tremendous noiſe.

Though the Luſitanians, from the death of Viriatus, beheld their fertile fields deſolated and their cities reduced to ruins, in the diſtant receſſes of their mountains they ſtill breathed the pure air of independence, and exerciſed the vigilance of Rome:

To

To the haughty demands of that republic, which preſcribed the ignominious badge of tribute, they boldly replied, "That their anceſtors had left them "ſwords to defend their poſſeſſions, inſtead of "gold to redeem them."

U. C. 612, 620. The example and negociations of Viriatus had arouſed the ſpirits, or ſhaken the obedience, of the inhabitants of *Hither Spain*; and even after the death of that celebrated leader, the Numantians, and other tribes of the Celtiberians, aſſerted in arms their ancient independence. The city of Numantia, which aroſe on the banks of the Duero, on the ſame ſpot which is now occupied by Old Caſtile, afforded a ſtrong retreat to the confederates, and a ſafe repoſitory for the ſpoils of war. Intimidated by the approach of the conſul Quintus Pompeius, who commanded an army of thirty thouſand infantry and two thouſand cavalry, they had conſented to treat of ſubmiſſion; but they rejected with contempt the rigorous and ignominious conditions which would have deſpoiled them of their cities and their arms; "Brave "men," exclaimed they, "never quit their arms "but with their lives." Their deſpair repulſed Pompeius from their walls, and compelled him to accept of a treaty by which they delivered up the Roman priſoners and deſerters, and engaged for the payment of thirty talents, at different periods.

When

When the rival republics of Rome and Carthage diſputed the dominion of the world, the faith of the latter had been impeached by the repeated reproaches of the former. But the victors were ſoon allured to imitate the perfidy of a people whom they had upbraided and exterminated; and the moſt ſacred obligations were regarded by Rome as feeble barriers to her intereſt or ambition. By a decree of the ſenate, the treaty which had been concluded by Pompey was rejected; and the war againſt the Numantians was reſumed. But Popilius, who commanded the Roman legions, was deceived by the ſtratagems, or baffled by the deſpair of the barbarians. His ſucceſſor, Caius Hoſtilius Mancinus, proved ſtill more unfortunate; his dreams of conqueſt gave place to the hopes of ſafety; he ſilently abandoned the ſiege of Numantia: But his retreat did not eſcape the vigilance and active reſentment of the beſieged; they purſued, defeated, and ſurrounded the remnant of the Roman legions. Theſe were preſerved from famine or the ſword by a treaty which was ratified by the moſt ſolemn oaths of Mancinus and his principal officers; and the conditions of which, though they have eſcaped the knowledge or been paſſed over by the partiality of the Roman hiſtorians, moſt probably expreſſed the future independence of Numantia.

The treaty concluded by Mancinus was violated by the Roman ſenate with the ſame facility as that which had been ſubſcribed by Pompey: Yet they affected to diſguiſe their breach of faith beneath the appearance of rigid juſtice; and by the authority of that aſſembly, Mancinus was delivered in chains to the reſentment of the Numantians. Theſe, with becoming magnanimity, rejected the proffered victim; "It is not," ſaid they, "the ſacrifice of a "private man that can atone for a breach of "the public faith."

The Luſitanians capable of bearing arms have, by the teſtimony of the Roman hiſtorians, been eſtimated at leſs than ten thouſand men; but the deficiency of numbers was ſupplied by a knowledge of the country and the love of independence: Two conſular armies, each conſiſting of near forty thouſand legionaries, had been broken and purſued by this hardy band; and repeated defeats admoniſhed the Romans to reſpect the courage of a people whom they had hitherto regarded with contempt. The importance of the Numantian war was not thought unworthy the deſtroyer of Carthage; and the ſecond Africanus was again called to the dignity of conſul, and the command of the armies in *Hither Spain*. The difficulty of the enterpriſe was proclaimed in his preparations:

Four

Four thouſand Italian ſoldiers were drawn from the cities in alliance with Rome; a large body of light cavalry was requeſted and obtained from Micipſa, the king of Numidia; and the amiable qualities and ſuperior virtues of Scipio ranged beneath his banner five hundred noble youths, whoſe voluntary ſervices and ſteady attachment were diſtinguiſhed by the title of *The Squadron of Friends*.

In the abſtinence of private life, as well as in martial atchievements, the *ſecond Africanus* rivalled the fame of the *firſt*; and his example ſoon diffuſed order and temperance through the army of which he aſſumed the command. The miniſters of luxury were driven with diſgrace from the camp; and the ſoldier was inſtructed to imitate the moderation of his general, and to content himſelf with the ſimple fare that would ſupply the demands of Nature. He was again gradually inured to labour and fatigue; was accuſtomed to painful marches, and to the conſtruction of numerous works; and his patient diligence was finally confirmed by habit and diſcipline.

Yet, although at the head of an army of ſixty thouſand warriors thus carefully prepared for victory, the prudence of Scipio declined the inauſpicious walls of Numantia; and his conſulate was conſumed in reducing to ſubmiſſion the neighbouring tribes that had armed in her defence.

In theſe enterpriſes the legions were frequently engaged in deſultory conflicts with the Numantians; but the impetuous valour of the latter was obliged to yield to the ſteady courage of the former; and when upbraided by their countrymen that they had fled before the Romans, whom they had ſo often vanquiſhed; "The Romans "are indeed," anſwered they, "the ſame ſheep, "but they have got a different ſhepherd."

With the title of pro-conſul Scipio was continued a ſecond year in command, and at length inveſted with his numerous forces the devoted city of Numantia. He ſtill reſpected the deſpair of the beſieged, though now reduced to a war-worn train of four thouſand veterans; and inſtead of attempting to open a paſſage with his ſword, determined to await the ſlow but certain effects of famine. The country was laid waſte; the rivers were barred by grates of iron; each hour diminiſhed the ſcanty proviſions of the unfortunate inhabitants; and their laſt hope was repoſed on the kindred tribes of Spain, who might aſſemble and march to their relief.

Five aged warriors, each attended by his ſon, undertook to penetrate the works of the beſiegers, and to rouze the neighbouring nations to arms. They pierced the Roman lines, hewed down the guard that oppoſed them, and eſcaped before the

Numidian

Numidian horſe could be collected for purſuit. But the attempt was more honourable to themſelves than ſerviceable to their country. The barbarians dreaded to embrace the ſinking fortunes of the Numantians; and of the various ſtates of Spain, the magnanimous natives of Lutia alone reſolved to arm in their defence. Before the youth of Lutia could execute their generous reſolution, they were ſurpriſed by the appearance of Scipio at the gates of their city. The Roman general had been appriſed of their intentions, and with a ſelect detachment had rapidly advanced to their chaſtiſement. The city, incapable of defence, endeavoured to deprecate his wrath by ſubmiſſion; four hundred of their nobleſt youths were ſurrendered to his diſcretion; their right hands were lopped from their arms; and the tremendous puniſhment, which arraigns the humanity of Scipio, ſufficiently warned the ſurrounding nations, how dangerous it was to provoke the bloody reſentment of Rome.

In the indifference or fears of the neighbouring ſtates, the laſt hopes of the Numantians expired; and from the fate of the Lutians they were taught the deſtiny they might expect themſelves from the inexorable vengeance of the victors. They determined however to try the effect of negocia-

tion; and to ſolicit the clemency of Scipio. "The defence of our freedom, and our families, "have reduced us," ſaid their ambaſſadors, "to "the diſtreſs which compels us to implore your "mercy. Our expectations are moderate, for "we have felt the reverſes of fortune. It now "remains with you to ſecure our future fidelity "and ſubmiſſion, by any terms which we can "with honour accept; or to behold us periſh "in a frantic deſpair, which may prove fatal to "our enemies as well as ourſelves."

The cold and laconic reply of Scipio, that they muſt ſurrender at diſcretion, determined the Numantians; and inſtead of endeavouring to bend the inflexible ſpirits of their enemies by further ſolicitations, they prepared to meet death in a manner that became men, who ſcorned to ſurvive the loſs of freedom. They ſallied forth on the beſiegers; and regardleſs of their own lives ſought only thoſe of their adverſaries. Oppreſſed by numbers, a few retired into the city; ſet fire to the houſes, and with their wives and families, periſhed by their mutual rage. Fifty were with difficulty raviſhed from the flames to adorn the triumph of the victor. But Numantia itſelf was involved in the ſame general deſtruction as Carthage; and on his return to Rome, amidſt the ſhouts of his applauding countrymen, the generous

rous mind of Scipio muſt have acknowledged ſome painful ſenſations, when he reflected that his own glories were erected on the extinction of a people, whoſe only guilt was a generous deteſtation of ſervitude.

Chapter the Twentieth.

EXTRACTION OF TIBERIUS GRACCHUS.—REPROACH OF HIS MOTHER CORNELIA, — DECLARES HIMSELF THE ADVOCATE OF THE PEOPLE. — PROPOSES AN AGRARIAN LAW. — HIS ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF IT. — OPPOSITION OF HIS COLLEAGUE THE TRIBUNE OCTAVIUS. — GRACCHUS PROPOSES A SECOND LAW STILL MORE SEVERE. — EMBARRASSED BY THE OPPOSITION OF OCTAVIUS. — APPEALS TO THE PEOPLE. — RECOMMENDS TO THEM EITHER TO DEPOSE OCTAVIUS OR HIMSELF — DEGRADATION OF OCTAVIUS. — AGRARIAN LAW PASSED. — COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED TO EXECUTE IT. — DIVISION OF THE TREASURES OF ATTALUS, KING OF PERGAMUS. — HE VINDICATES HIS PROCEEDINGS AGAINST OCTAVIUS. —STANDS CANDIDATE FOR A SECOND TRIBUNESHIP.—IS ATTACKED ON THE DAY OF ELECTION BY SCIPIO NASICA AND A NUMEROUS

MEROUS BODY OF THE SENATE. — IS SLAIN IN THE TUMULT. — REVIEW OF HIS CONDUCT AND CHARACTER.

U. C. 620. A Rapid ſeries of proſperity offered to the Romans the tranquil enjoyment of happineſs could they have been capable of embracing it. The princes of Aſia had been taught by repeated defeats to dread their reſentment; their abſolute ſovereignty had been extended over Greece and Macedon; the ſtrength of Spain was broken; and the rival power of Carthage was for ever extinguiſhed. But no ſooner was the republic delivered from the tempeſt of foreign war, than it was expoſed to the ſtorms of civil commotion; and while Rome excited the admiration of ſurrounding nations, the breath of an eloquent and ambitious tribune threatened to ſubvert the very foundations of the commonwealth.

Tiberius Gracchus, on his father's ſide, was of plebeian extraction; but the family had already attained to the honours of the conſulſhip; and the illuſtrious birth of his mother Cornelia, the daughter of the firſt *Africanus*, placed him on a level with the moſt noble of the patricians: His own

own ſiſter had received the hand of the ſecond Africanus. A mind naturally aſpiring was inflamed by the weight and dignity of theſe connections; and he liſtened with impatience to the reproaches of Cornelia; "How long ſhall I be termed the "*daughter* of Scipio inſtead of the *mother* of the "Gracchi?

Like other young men of high expectations, Tiberius Gracchus had entered at an early age on the duties of a military life. He had ſerved with reputation under his brother-in-law, Scipio, at the ſiege of Carthage: In the unfortunate expedition of Mancinus, Tiberius had acted as quæſtor; he had been involved in the diſgrace of his commander, and it was propoſed to deliver him with Mancinus to the diſcretion of the Numantians. He avoided the danger by appealing from the ſenate to the people; and if in his ſubſequent conduct we trace his remembrance of the protection of the multitude, the errors of the patriot may be palliated by the gratitude of the man.

From the defeat of Mancinus, Tiberius relinquiſhed all further hopes of military laurels, and determined to direct his attention to the civil concerns of his country. He had already attained the rank of tribune of the people; his mind was impreſſed by the alluring idea that has found place

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in modern times, *that the unequal diſtribution of property, ſo favourable to the rich, is an injury to the poor*; and he reſolved to revive the celebrated law of Licinius, by which a Roman citizen was reſtrained from poſſeſſing above five hundred acres of land, or more than one hundred oxen, or five hundred ſheep.

He could not be inſenſible how obnoxious this deſign muſt prove to the overgrown patricians; and his prudence induced him in ſome meaſure to mitigate the ſeverity of the regulation, by permitting every family that enjoyed five hundred acres in right of the father, to hold half as much more in right of every emancipated ſon; and by this appearance of moderation, he engaged a few of the moſt eminent patricians to ſecond his intentions.

But the majority of the ſenate ſtill ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the dangerous project; and it was only in the aſſemblies of the people that Tiberius could expect to be liſtened to with approbation. In theſe his eloquence was ſucceſsfully exerted againſt thoſe diſtinctions which overwhelm the natural rights of man. "Every wild beaſt in this land," exclaimed he, "has a cave or den to ſhelter it-"ſelf; but thoſe citizens who have ſhed their "blood, and expoſed their lives in the ſervice "of their country, have not a home to which

"they

" they may retire: They wander with their wives " and their children ſtripped of every poſſeſ- " ſion but thoſe of the air and light. It is an " inſult to ſuch men to exhort them to fight " for the tombs of their fathers, and for the " altars of their houſhold gods. They have no " ſepulchres, they have no altars; they fight and " die ſolely to ſwell the riches and luxury of " others; and, as *citizens of Rome*, are ſtiled the " *maſters of the world*, while they poſſeſs not a " ſingle foot of earth on which they may reſt " themſelves.

" Is it not reaſonable," demanded he, " to ap- " ply what was originally public to public uſes? " Is not a free man preferable to a ſlave, a brave " man to a coward, a fellow-citizen to a ſtran- " ger? The fortune of the republic is already " ſplendid, her proſpects extenſive: She has al- " ready acquired much; ſhe has more to acquire. " But it remains now for the citizens of Rome " to determine, whether by a moderate diſtribu- " tion of property they may enable all to main- " tain their reſpective families; and by multiply- " ing their numbers, increaſe their ſtrength to ter- " minate the conqueſt of the world: Or by ſuffer- " ing the reſources of the people to be engroſſed " by a few, weaken the ſinews of the common-

" wealth,

" wealth, and expoſe it to the jealouſy or reſent-
" ment of the nations which ſurround it?"

He exhorted the preſent proprietors of land, whom a diviſion of property might affect, not to withhold for the ſake of a trifling advantage to themſelves, ſo great a benefit to their country. He warned them maturely to reflect, whether they would not by the ſecure poſſeſſion of five hundred acres, and of half as much more to each of their children, be ſufficiently rewarded for the conceſſions which were required from them? He reminded them that riches were merely comparative; and that by what was aſſigned them they would ſtill be wealthy, ſince their poſſeſſions would exceed thoſe of the greater number of their fellow citizens.

The diſpoſitions of the people were favourable to the views of Gracchus; oppreſſed by the rich, and ſtruggling beneath continual hardſhips, they embraced with tranſport any ſyſtem that offered to them preſent relief; and the patricians, aware of the danger which impended over them, could only hope to avert it by oppoſing to the influence of one tribune the authority of another.

Marcus Octavius Cæcina, a tribune of the people, had hitherto lived in the ſtricteſt intimacy and friendſhip with Gracchus; but naturally grave and moderate, he was eaſily prevailed on by the nobles

bles to oppoſe innovations which menaced ſuch dangerous and extenſive conſequences; and when the law was propoſed, and the expectations of the multitude were moſt elevated, his ſingle negative prohibited all further proceedings. Whatever might be the ſurpriſe of Gracchus at this unexpected obſtacle, he contented himſelf with deſiring the people to aſſemble the next day, and to judge between him and his colleague; and in that aſſembly he propoſed a motion more violent than the former; in which he eraſed all the clauſes by which he had endeavoured to allure the conſent of the rich, and reſtrained the landed property of any Roman to five hundred acres.

From Rome the fears of the wealthy and the hopes of the indigent were diffuſed through the different colonies and cities of Italy; and the capital was thronged by the multitudes who anxiouſly awaited the fate of a project which promiſed to extinguiſh the magnificence of the firſt and the miſery of the laſt.

But the meaſures of Gracchus were ſtill embarraſſed by the oppoſition of Octavius; it was in vain that he conjured him by the mutual duties of their function, and by the remembrance of their former friendſhip, not to reſiſt the good of the people, whom they were bound in honour to protect againſt the uſurpations of the rich. It

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was in vain that in private his diſintereſted ſpirit offered to indemnify him for any loſs he might ſuſtain. "Perhaps," ſaid he, "you are perſonally concerned to oppoſe the law; if ſo, poor as I am, I will engage to pay you in money whatever you may loſe in land." Menaces, promiſes, and reproaches were in vain employed; and either ſhame or principle kept Octavius firm to the wiſhes of the ſenate and the intereſts of the patricians.

Unable to ſhake the reſolution of his colleague, Tiberius determined to try the effect of thoſe powers with which as tribune of the people he was inveſted. He laid the ſtate under a general interdict, ſealed up the doors of the treaſury, ſuſpended the proceedings in the courts of the prætors, and put a ſtop to all the functions of office throughout the city.

The nobles and more opulent citizens expreſſed their grief at theſe violent meaſures by aſſuming the habits of mourners; while Tiberius, inſtead of being deterred by theſe public marks of diſtreſs, again aſſembled the tribes, and proceeded to take their votes in defiance of the negative of his colleague: He was induced to ſuſpend a moment this bold attempt by the ſolicitations of Manlius and Fulvius, two ſenators of conſular rank, who embracing his knees conjured him to deſiſt.

deſiſt. A moment's pauſe betrayed his irreſolution; and the expreſſive exclamation, "What can "I do?" ſufficiently proclaimed that he dreaded to advance, though it was impoſſible for him to retreat. "Attend the decree of the ſenate," was the reply of the noble ſuppliants; and Gracchus conſented to await the deciſion of that auguſt aſſembly.

The refuſal of the ſenate to confirm the Agrarian law, arouſed again the ardour of the tribune; who, fatigued with the conſtant oppoſition of his colleague, determined to venture on a more dangerous expedient, and propoſed that either Octavius or himſelf ſhould be diveſted of the tribuneſhip. With a well diſſembled moderation he propoſed to Octavius firſt to collect the votes of the people, and declared himſelf ready, if agreeable to them, to reſign his office, and to retire to a private ſtation. But Octavius perceived the ſnare, and declined a ſtep which would have ſanctioned the ſubſequent proceedings of Tiberius; who impatient of delay mounted the roſtrum, and moved that Octavius ſhould be degraded from the rank of tribune.

Of thirty-five tribes, ſeventeen had already given their votes againſt Octavius; in taking thoſe of the eighteenth, which would have compoſed a majority, the tribunes heſitated; and Gracchus, conſcious

conſcious of the wound that he was inflicting on the ſacred office that he bore, and ſtill deſirous to avoid the laſt extremities, embraced Octavius amidſt the aſſembly, and beſought him, by acquieſcing in the wiſhes of the people, to ſpare him the cruel mortification of diſgracing a colleague. Tears witneſſed the emotions of Octavius; but the recollection that he acted in the preſence of the ſenate confirmed his reſolution; he refuſed to recede; the votes of the majority pronounced the ſentence of degradation; and his life was preſerved from the indignation of the multitude only by the influence of Gracchus himſelf, and by the exertions of a faithful ſlave, whoſe zeal expoſed him to the ſtroke that was aimed at the head of his maſter.

The ſame voices which had depoſed Octavius eſtabliſhed the Agrarian law; and the three commiſſioners named to carry it into execution were Tiberius Gracchus himſelf, his brother Caius Gracchus, and his father-in-law Appius Claudius. The death of Attalus, king of Pergamus, afforded a new opportunity to Tiberius to diſplay his attachment to the people: The deceaſed monarch had bequeathed his dominions and his treaſures to the Romans; Gracchus procured an act to transfer the diſpoſition of this extraordinary legacy from the ſenate to the people; and the

riches which had been amaſſed by Attalus were, by the partial decree of theſe new executors, divided amongſt the poorer citizens, to enable them to cultivate thoſe lands which they daily expected to obtain from the execution of the Agrarian law.

The ſenate had in vain attempted to reſiſt the authority, they now endeavoured to undermine the credit of Gracchus. They accuſed his arrogance; they urged his ambition; and they inſinuated, that under the maſk of popularity he aſpired to regal power. But the moſt juſt, and conſequently the moſt formidable, charge againſt him was the irregular depoſition of Octavius. The office of tribune was intended to check the caprice of the people, as well as to reſtrain the power of the ſenate; but it could no longer anſwer the former purpoſe, if the breath of the multitude could extinguiſh the authority of the magiſtrate who refuſed to ſanction their licentious deſires.

Tiberius himſelf was ſenſible of the weight of this accuſation; and while he conſidered the other rumours as unworthy of reply, he exerted his eloquence to efface the impreſſion which he dreaded from the laſt and moſt important objection. The perſon of the tribune, he obſerved, was ſacred, becauſe conſecrated by the people whom he repreſented; but if that magiſtrate, inconſiſtent

with

with his character, ſhould injure where he was appointed to protect, ſhould weaken a claim that he was created to enforce, and withhold from the people that right of deciſion which it was his peculiar province to guard, the tribune and not the people was to be blamed for the conſequences.

"Other crimes," ſaid he, "may be enormous, yet may not deſtroy the eſſence of the tribunitian character; an attempt to demoliſh the capitol, or to burn the fleets of the republic, might excite an univerſal and juſt indignation, without rendering the perſon of the tribune who was convicted of them leſs ſacred. But an attempt to take away the power by which his own office ſubſiſts, and which is centered in himſelf only for the better exertion of it, is a voluntary and criminal abdication of the truſt. What is the tribune but the officer of the people? Strange! that this officer may, by virtue of authority derived from the people, drag even the conſul himſelf to priſon, and yet that the people themſelves cannot depoſe their own officer when he attempts to annul the authority by which he was appointed.

"Was ever authority more ſacred than that of king? It included the prerogatives of every magiſtrate, and was likewiſe conſecrated by uniting the prieſthood of the immortal gods.

"Yet did not the people baniſh Tarquin? And "thus, for the offence of one man, aboliſh the "primitive government, under the auſpices of "which the very foundations of this city were "laid.

"What is more ſacred at Rome than the per-"ſons of the veſtal virgins who have the cuſtody "of the holy fire? yet are they not for ſlight of-"fences ſometimes buried alive? And if impiety "to the gods is ſuppoſed to cancel a title which "reverence to the gods had conferred, muſt not "injuries to the people ſuppreſs an authority "which a regard to the people has conſtituted?

"That perſon muſt fall who himſelf removes "the baſe on which he is ſupported. A majority "of the tribes creates a tribune; cannot the whole "depoſe him? What more ſacred than the things "which are dedicated at the ſhrines of the im-"mortal gods? yet theſe the people may employ "or remove at pleaſure. Why may they not "then tranſfer the tribuneſhip, as a conſecrated "title, from one perſon to another? May not "the whole people, by their ſovereign authority, "do what every man who is promoted to this "ſacred office is permitted to do, when he re-"ſigns or abdicates his power by a ſimple ex-"preſſion of his own?"

Cicero, whoſe judgment as an orator can ſcarce be

be queſtioned, and who peruſed a few years afterwards the ſpeeches of Gracchus, declares that he admired them leſs for the purity of the language, than for the ingenious turns and ſolid reaſons with which they abounded; yet, however thoſe whoſe poverty and diſtreſs inclined them to expect relief from the meaſures of the tribune might applaud his arguments, Tiberius himſelf was ſenſible that his credit was on the decline. His perſon was only guarded by the character of tribune, which his own conduct had rendered leſs ſacred; and to procure his re-election to that office, he courted the favour of the people by the promiſe of acts ſtill more popular; one was to ſhorten the term of military ſervice, and another to grant an appeal to the citizens at large from the judicial ſentence of the prætors.

The election for tribunes had been fixed about the time of Autumn, and numbers of the poorer citizens of Rome were diſperſed throughout Italy in the annual toils of harveſt: Yet the two firſt tribes had already given their votes in favour of Gracchus, who appeared in mourning, and accompanied by his wife and children, implored the people not to abandon their protector and his infant offspring to the reſentment of the patricians. In vain did the moſt reſpectable of the ſenators repreſent the mortal injury that was offered to the

conſtitution by continuing for two ſucceſſive years the ſame perſon as tribune; the gratitude or compaſſion of the multitude overwhelmed every other conſideration; a choſen body of the commons took poſt round their favourite candidate, and ſuffered no ſtranger to approach him; and Tiberius exulted in his ſecurity, and the ſucceſs of his deſigns, at the moment that he tottered on the brink of deſtruction.

The ſenators, amidſt the tumult and diſtraction of the city, were aſſembled in the temple of Faith, and anxiouſly deliberated on the fate of the commonwealth. The dignities and fortunes of the order were involved in the re-election of Gracchus; the action of the latter, by raiſing his hand to his head, as a ſignal to his party to repel force by force, was conſtrued by the ſenate as an hint to the people to reward his zeal with a crown; and an inſtant decree, "That the conſul ſhould provide for the ſafety of the republic," armed that magiſtrate with a deſpotic though temporary power.

The ſafety of Sicily had demanded, at this important criſis, the preſence of the conſul Calpurnius Piſo; and his colleague Mucius Scævola was naturally attached to the popular party. He had however refuſed to ſupport Tiberius in the extremes which he had fallen into; but though he diſapproved the irregular conduct of the tribune, he

he reſiſted the importunities of his enemies; nor could he be perſuaded to employ force againſt a magiſtrate whom the laws had declared ſacred; nor to diſturb the tribes in their legal proceedings. "If they ſhould venture on any meaſures," ſaid "he, "inconſiſtent with law, I will oppoſe them "to the utmoſt of my authority; but I will not "ſanction with the conſular dignity the reſentment "of a faction."

Such moderation ill accorded with the indignation of the majority of the ſenate. Party rage had extinguiſhed every ſentiment of conſanguinity; and Scipio Naſica, who was connected with Gracchus by the ties of blood, riſing from his ſeat, exclaimed, "Since the firſt magiſtrate of the re-"public betrays her intereſts, let thoſe who re-"gard the laws follow me." A tumultuous crowd of ſenators, unmindful of their dignity and impatient for revenge, armed with clubs and ſtaves, the firſt weapons that preſented themſelves, ruſhed forth at his ſummons. Their numbers were ſwelled by a promiſcuous concourſe of clients and ſlaves; and they precipitated themſelves on the capitol, where Gracchus was ſtill engaged in preſiding over his own election, and collecting the votes of the people.

The friendſhip of a ſenator who had quitted the aſſembly, had warned the unfortunate tribune of the

danger that impended over him; he communicated the intelligence to thoſe who were neareſt, and conjured them to aſſert with courage his ſafety and their own freedom. But the multitude were in an inſtant broken by the charge of the patricians; and Gracchus, after beholding his moſt faithful friends ſlaughtered or diſperſed, endeavoured to ſave himſelf by flight. In the confuſion he ſtumbled over a broken bench; and before he recovered his feet, received a ſtroke on his head, which deprived him of his ſenſes: The rage of the patricians ſuffered him not long to languiſh; a thouſand clubs were aimed againſt his life; and the mortal blow which terminated it has been attributed to the hand of Scipio Naſica himſelf.

Thus miſerably periſhed, in the proſecution of a plan which has been commended by Plutarch and cenſured by Cicero, the celebrated Tiberius Gracchus; nor has the tendency of the plan itſelf been conſidered as more doubtful than the motives which prompted him to embrace it. Ambition, gratitude, and patriotiſm, have been variouſly aſſigned as the ſources of his conduct. The mind of Tiberius was certainly not inſenſible to fame, however indifferent it might be to power; he probably remembered with fond regard the protection he had received from the commons; and he might be

be allured by the ſplendid idea of eſtabliſhing the general happineſs of the citizens of Rome. Once embarked in the enterprize, he was puſhed by the reſiſtance of the patricians to extremes, which in ſecret he poſſibly diſapproved; and in the depoſition of his colleague Octavius, he was conſcious of the wound that he had inflicted on the ſacred office of tribune. It was his misfortune not to have ſufficiently balanced thoſe different remedies which a ſmall republic and a great empire permit; and a project which might have promoted the proſperity of Rome in her infant ſtate, appears ill ſuited to her more mature grandeur, when her authority or influence was ſtretched over great part of Europe of Aſia, and of Africa.

The qualities of Tiberius are leſs ambiguous than his intentions: He was learned and eloquent; generous, penetrating, and enterpriſing. But his virtues and endowments proved equally fatal to himſelf and to his country; and his example firſt opened a road to the ſucceſsful ambition of her ſons, who were inſtructed by him to appeal from the authority of the ſenate to the favour of the people; and by artful conceſſions to the multitude, to lay the foundation of their own deſpotiſm.

With Tiberius Gracchus three hundred of his adherents fell in the guilty tumult; their bodies, with

with that of their leader, were thrown indignantly into the Tiber; and the rites of ſepulture were denied to men who were accuſed by their triumphant adverſaries of having endeavoured to ſubvert the laws and conſtitution of their country.

Chapter the Twenty-first.

CONCESSIONS OF THE SENATE TO APPEASE THE PEOPLE ON THE DEATH OF TIBERIUS.—DREAD OF SCIPIO.—HE APPROVES THE DEATH OF GRACCHUS, AND SUPPORTS THE SENATE.—STATE OF SICILY.—OF THE SLAVES IN THAT ISLAND.—CHARACTER OF EUNUS.—PRETENDS TO THE POWER OF EFFECTING MIRACLES.—IS SUCCESSFUL IN FOUR CAMPAIGNS AGAINST THE ROMANS.—IS DEFEATED BY RUTILIUS, WHO EXTINGUISHES THE FIRST SERVILE WAR.—ARISTONICUS ASPIRES TO THE THRONE OF PERGAMUS;—DEFEATS AND TAKES PRISONER THE CONSUL CRASSUS;—IS HIMSELF VANQUISHED AND MADE CAPTIVE BY PERPENNA.—COMMISSION TO OBSERVE THE AFFAIRS OF ASIA AND EGYPT.—DOMESTIC DISSENSIONS.—LAWS PROPOSED BY THE TRIBUNE PAPIRIUS CARBO.—OPPOSED BY SCIPIO AND LÆLIUS.—DARING

ATTEMPT

ATTEMPT OF THE TRIBUNE ATINIUS ON METELLUS, SURNAMED MACEDONICUS.—CONDUCT OF SCIPIO ÆMILIANUS.—THE SENATE DETERMINE TO CONFER ON HIM THE AUTHORITY OF DICTATOR.—HIS SUDDEN AND MYSTERIOUS DEATH.—HE IS INTERRED PRIVATELY.

U. C. 620, 624. THE tempeſt of civil commotion was huſhed in the capital; but the apprehenſions of the ſenate were far from extinguiſhed. The authority of that aſſembly had been vindicated; but the laws had been inſulted by the temerity of Scipio Naſica. His abſence was neceſſary for his own ſafety and the public tranquillity; and a voluntary exile in Aſia was diſguiſed under the pretence of an honourable commiſſion. To conciliate the affections of the people, who ſtill revered the memory and threatened to avenge the death of Tiberius Gracchus, the Agrarian law was confirmed; and in the place of Tiberius, Publius Craſſius, whoſe daughter had married Caius Gracchus, was choſen as the new commiſſioner to execute it.

But a more lively though ſecret dread impreſſed the ſenate from the power of the *ſecond Africanus*, than from the tumultuous reſentment of the populace.

populace. Æmilianus was the brother-in-law of Tiberius Gracchus, and at the head of a formidable and victorious army, which had lately leveled the walls of Numantia, under the pretence of revenging the death of ſo near a relation, and with the aſſiſtance of troops devoted to their ſucceſsful leader, he might eaſily have ſeized the ſovereign authority, and ſtrong in the affections of the ſoldiers and the people, have cruſhed the feeble reſiſtance of the ſenate. Theſe fears were augmented by the reflection that Scipio himſelf might with juſtice be ranked among the poorer citizens; his whole inheritance, according to Pliny, amounted only to thirty-two pounds of ſilver, or about two hundred and eighty pounds ſterling; and he would probably have received no inconſiderable advantage from the rigorous execution of the Licinian law.

But the terrors of the patricians were of ſhort duration; and the mind of Scipio was as incapable of being biaſſed by intereſt or power, as his judgment was ſuperior to the ſplendid projects which had deluded the glowing imagination of the unfortunate Gracchus. It was in Numantia that he heard the fate of that unhappy tribune. The line from Homer which he repeated, "Thus "may every perſon periſh who imitates his crimes," ſufficiently revealed his own ſentiments, and removed the apprehenſions of the ſenate. On his return

return to Italy, he was inſidiouſly called upon before the people, by Papirius Carbo, a popular and factious tribune, to declare what he thought of the death of Gracchus. "I think," ſaid Scipio, "if Gracchus attempted to overturn the "conſtitution of his country, he merited his "fate." The clamours of the multitude expreſſed their diſapprobation of this declaration. But the undaunted conqueror of Carthage and Numantia boldly reproved their licentious inſolence: "Ceaſe "your cries," exclaimed he, "nor hope to ſhake "my firmneſs, who have heard unmoved the ſhouts "of embattled enemies." The crowd acknowledged in ſilence his reproaches, and retired abaſhed from his preſence; but Rome rather admired than imitated his virtues; and while the populace applauded his atchievements, they rejected his prudent counſels, to follow thoſe of more daring and more artful leaders.

In the triumphs of Scipio and Brutus for their reſpective victories over the Numantians and Gallicians, the Romans contemplated the encreaſing power and grandeur of the republic; yet in the midſt of conqueſt new enemies aroſe; and either foreign or domeſtic war ſtill kept open the gates of the temple of Janus. The martial tribes of Spain might have been rouzed to arms by the recollection of former renown, and the honourable

ble love of independence: But only the intollerant rigour of Rome could inflame and combine a race of men, who had been tranſported from remote and various regions; who were ſtrangers to each others manners and language; and who were ſolely united by the common barbarity of their oppreſſors.

From the time that the Carthaginians had been expelled from Sicily, that iſland, under the dominion of the Romans, had enjoyed a perfect ſtate of tranquillity undiſturbed by domeſtic commotion or foreign invaſion. Her fertile fields, which ſupplied the luxury or magnificence of the principal ſenators, were tilled by ſlaves whom the chance of war had ſubjected to the diſcretion of the victors. But the avarice of the latter not unfrequently impoſed on the former, taſks beyond their ſtrength; and their deſpair broke forth in revolts, ſometimes alarming to their tyrants, but always fatal to themſelves.

Above the reſt of his unhappy companions in ſervitude, Eunus, a native of Syria, was diſtinguiſhed by his ſuperior courage and genius. Every artifice may be juſtified by the hopes of regaining that freedom which nature has imparted, but fraud undermined, or force oppreſſed: The ſacred character of a deity was aſſumed ſucceſsfully by Eunus; and credulity aſſigned a variety of miracles

cles to the Syrian ſlave. His companions in captivity eagerly burſt their bonds at his holy ſummons; traverſed the country to join his ſtandard; broke open in their progreſs the vaults and priſons in which their fellow-ſufferers had been confined; and by their rapid acceſſions ſwelled his army to the formidable number of ſeventy thouſand men.

The firſt operations of Eunus confirmed the ſacred character that he had aſſumed; the ſervile multitude, in four ſucceſſive campaigns, repulſed or defeated the Roman commanders; and the victories of a diſorderly crowd over the diſciplined legions, might well inculcate a belief of divine aſſiſtance. But in the year which enſued the deſtruction of Numantia, the charm was diſſolved; the ſuperior conduct of the conſul Publius Rutilius compelled the pretended deity to confeſs the viciſſitudes to which a mortal is expoſed. The followers of Eunus were gradually ſurrounded and deſtroyed; their leader, with a conſiderable number, had ſought a temporary refuge in the ſtrong fortreſs of Enna: But the walls of that place yielded to the ſtupendous machines and perſeverance of the Romans; and thoſe who eſcaped the ſword, as an example to deter other ſlaves from ſimilar attempts, were nailed to croſſes, and left to expire in the moſt cruel agonies

agonies on the highways, and on the moſt conſpicuous parts of the iſland.

In Aſia, Ariſtonicus, the illegitimate ſon of Eumenes, and the natural brother of Attalus, urged his pretenſions to the kingdom of Pergamus, which the doubtful teſtament of the laſt prince had bequeathed to the Roman republic. He was ſupported by a powerful and patriotic party, who beheld with indignation the kingdom of Pergamus degraded to the ſtation of a province of Rome. The conſul Craſſus, who had preſſed forwards as to a certain victory, was in his firſt encounter defeated, and taken priſoner by Ariſtonicus; yet he ſcorned to ſurvive a diſgrace, the conſequence of his own imprudence; and he intentionally provoked a Thracian ſoldier to deſtroy a life which he conſidered as eternally diſhonoured by captivity.

The defeat of Craſſus was avenged by his ſucceſſor, the conſul Perpenna. He routed and captured Ariſtonicus; and poſſeſſed himſelf of the treaſures of Attalus, the diſpoſal of which the populace had already anticipated by a decree which paſſed during the tribuneſhip of Tiberius Gracchus. From this moment, Aſia appears to have engroſſed more particularly the attention of the Romans. They appointed Scipio Æmilianus, Spurius Mummius, and Lucius Metellus to ob-

ſerve the ſtate of Aſia and Egypt. In the former, Antiochus, king of Syria, had lately waged an unſucceſsful war againſt the Parthians; in he latter, Ptolemy Euergetes, who had ſucceeded to the throne, had been expelled by the citizens of Alexandria: The power of the king of Pontus had not yet awakened the jealouſy of Rome; and the commiſſioners ſoon returned from the ſurvey of Aſia to exert their influence in reſtoring the tranquillity of Italy.

Proſperous and victorious abroad, the Romans were divided and diſcontented at home. The death of Tiberius Gracchus had for a moment ſuſpended their diſſenſions; but an indigent multitude ſtill repined at the luxury and magnificence of the opulent ſenators; and the embers of ſedition wanted only the breath of an eloquent and powerful leader to fan them into open flame. Papirius Carbo had already obtained a law from the weakneſs of the nobles, by which the votes of the people and the opinion of the judges were to be taken by ballot; and the reſtraints which ſhame had impoſed on the Roman, who was conſcious that he delivered his ſuffrage in the preſence of his fellow-citizens, were unfortunately removed.

The ſucceſs of Papirius encouraged him to venture on a ſecond motion, more dangerous and

leſs

leſs plauſible: He propoſed that the ſame perſon might be repeatedly choſen to the tribuneſhip. He was ſupported on this occaſion by Caius Gracchus, the brother of Tiberius; but the fatal conſequences of this regulation ſummoned from their retreats Scipio Æmilianus, and Lælius, ſurnamed the *Wiſe*, who ſhared the friendſhip and counſels of the ſecond Africanus. Their exhortations awakened the ſenate and nobles to a ſenſe of their danger; and the united efforts of the rich and the powerful, averted the deſign of perpetuating in any one perſon an authority which was already almoſt ſovereign and irreſiſtible.

One inſtance may ſufficiently diſplay the licentious arrogance which the character of tribune too frequently inſpired. In war, the victories of Quintus Cæcilius Metellus had ſwelled the triumphs of the republic, and attached to himſelf, from the ſcene of his atchievements, the ſurname of *Macedonicus*. In peace, as cenſor, he had endeavoured to reſtore the morals and re-eſtabliſh the priſtine virtue of the common-wealth. In the diſcharge of this invidious office he was entitled to the eſteem of the good, he had enſured the enmity of the bad. In the review of the ſenate, he had ſtruck off the rolls Caius Atinius Labeo, whoſe diſſolute conduct and infamous character rendered him unworthy of a ſeat in that aſſembly.

But the vices of Atinius, which excluded him from the ſenate, probably recommended him to the people: His profuſion aſſumed the appearance of generoſity; and his ambition was concealed beneath the veil of affability. He was promoted by his arts to the important ſituation of tribune of the people; and the firſt uſe to which he directed his new authority was the gratification of his revenge.

As Metellus returned from the country about noon, when the multitude in general had retired from the Forum to their own houſes, he was ſuddenly apprehended by Atinius, and ordered to be thrown from the Tarpeian rock. The people were ſenſible of the tribune's breach of the ſacred truſt repoſed in him; and accoſting Metellus by the name of father, lamented his fate. But unleſs another magiſtrate of the ſame deſcription could be found, there was no other power in the common-wealth that could without profanation interrupt a tribune even in the commiſſion of a crime. While Metellus ſtruggled to delay the moment of deſtruction, his friends were anxiouſly diſperſed in the ſearch of another tribune; and it was not till the ſtrength of the unhappy cenſor was nearly exhauſted, that the flagitious deſign of Atinius was interrupted by the preſence and protecting negative of a more virtuous colleague.

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Such daring outrages could not fail of exciting the indignation of every worthy citizen; and the fears of the ſenate had already determined them to entruſt the ſupreme authority of dictator to the virtues of Scipio, when an untimely and myſterious death deprived the republic of the ſervices of that illuſtrious Roman. His influence had already checked the power of the commiſſioners who had been appointed to carry into execution the Agrarian law; and transferred to the conſul, Sempronius Tuditanus, the privilege they had poſſeſſed of determining all diſputes reſpecting the boundaries of eſtates throughout the Roman empire: But Sempronius had ſhrunk from the invidious juriſdiction with which he had been inveſted; and declined the painful duty, which muſt have eſtranged from him the affections of his countrymen, to encounter the open enemies of the ſtate, and to prepare the materials for triumph by a deſultory warfare in the province of Iſtria.

Although Sempronius deſerted the cauſe of the ſenate and the nobility, it was yet ſupported with fortitude by Æmilianus. But neither the luſtre of his own exploits, nor thoſe of his family, his integrity, his generoſity, nor his magnanimity, could repreſs the reſentment, or reſtrain the reproaches of the multitude. "Has every law," exclaimed they, "been ſuſpended, that he might twice be

"elevated to the dignity of conſul? and does he "thus ungratefully oppoſe thoſe whoſe favour laid "the foundation of his fame and fortune?" Æmilianus might deſpiſe the invectives of the fickle and unthankful populace; but he probably fell a ſacrifice to the jealouſy and treachery of their leaders. On the morning, when it was ſuppoſed the dictatorial authority would have been conferred on him, he was found dead in his bed. It was inſinuated, that ſenſible of the calamities which threatened his country from the arrogance of the tribunes, and from the ſedious diſpoſition of the multitude, and conſcious of his own inability to avert them, he had withdrawn from the impending tempeſt by a voluntary death. But a more probable rumour has reached modern times of the ingratitude of the people, and the fatal treachery of their chiefs; and according to Appian, his ſlaves confeſſed, that on the night of his death ſeveral perſons privately entered and retired from his houſe, to whoſe guilty intruſion they attributed the loſs of their maſter.

Whether the life of the ſecond Africanus was permitted naturally to expire, or was extinguiſhed by perſonal or political enmity, the cold and negligent manner in which his funeral obſequies were celebrated might ſufficiently have admoniſhed, if ſuch an admonition was yet neceſſary, the fond preſumption

sumption of inexperienced ambition, how transient and capricious was the favour of the multitude. The remains of the conqueror of Carthage and Numantia were denied a public funeral; and he, whose triumphal car had been so frequently followed by applauding myriads, was attended to the grave by the humble and slender train of his clients and dependents.

Chapter the Twenty-second.

FULVIUS FLACCUS APPOINTED CONSUL. — PROPOSES TO ADMIT THE ITALIAN ALLIES TO THE PRIVILEGES OF ROMAN CITIZENS. — REVIVES THE AGRARIAN LAW. — IS DIVERTED FROM THE DESIGN BY AN INVASION OF THE TRANSALPINE GAULS. — CHARACTER OF CAIUS GRACCHUS. — SERVES AS QUÆSTOR IN SARDINIA. — RETURNS TO ROME, — HIS DEFENCE. — SUES FOR, AND OBTAINS THE TRIBUNESHIP. — REMONSTRANCES OF CORNELIA. — EDICTS PROPOSED BY CAIUS. — HE IS RE-ELECTED TRIBUNE. — RECOMMENDS AND OBTAINS THE ELECTION OF FANNIUS STRABO AS CONSUL. — STRIPS THE SENATE OF JUDICIAL AUTHORITY. — ESPOUSES THE CAUSE OF THE ITALIAN ALLIES. — IS OPPOSED BY FANNIUS. — ARTS OF THE SENATE. — CAIUS AND FULVIUS ARE APPOINTED TO SETTLE A COLONY AT CARTHAGE. — THEY RETURN TO ROME. — CAIUS STANDS A THIRD TIME

TIME FOR THE TRIBUNESHIP, BUT IS REJECTED. — LUCIUS OPIMIUS IS CHOSEN CONSUL. — PROPOSES TO REPEAL THE EDICTS OF CAIUS. — TUMULTS AT ROME. — CONFLICT ON MOUNT AVENTINE. — DEATHS OF FULVIUS FLACCUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS. — CRUELTY OF OPIMIUS. — COMBATS OF GLADIATORS.

IT might naturally have been expected that the death of Scipio Æmilianus would have been the signal of immediate hostilities between the rival factions of Rome; and that the commons, no longer awed by the superior fame of that illustrious citizen, would have aspired to have trampled down every barrier of property and dignity which separated them from the wealthy and the noble. Yet during the term of five years, a deceitful calm seemed to lull their mutual animosity; an obscure revolt in Sardinia; the chastisement of the rebellious inhabitants of Fregellæ; and the predatory incursions of the Transalpine Gauls, who ravaged the district of Marseilles, scarce awaken the attention of the reader. A tremendous eruption of Mount Etna is described with more minute solemnity by the Roman U. C. 624, 628.

hiſtorians; and from the ebullitions of nature, a ſuperſtitious people predicted the convulſions which were ſoon to agitate the Roman republic.

A more certain preſage of impending commotion might have been drawn from the appointment of Fulvius Flaccus to the dignity of conſul. With Tiberius Gracchus he had formerly promoted, and participated in, all the exceſſes of popular faction; but the character of Flaccus was ſtained by the habits of luſt and intemperance; and he ſucceeded to the deſigns without attaining the reputation of the imprudent though virtuous Tiberius.

The inhabitants of the *municipal*, or free, towns of Italy had long repined at the inequality of their condition; the Agrarian law, which promiſed to the indigent citizens of Rome the landed property of Italy, arouſed their fears for thoſe ſlender poſſeſſions which they had hitherto been permitted to retain. Their apprehenſions were allayed by the prudence or compaſſion of Tiberius, who propoſed to impart to every freeman of Italy the rights and privileges of a Roman citizen. The unfortunate death of the tribune ſuſpended the generous, though perhaps impolitic project; and the Italian allies beheld themſelves expoſed to the fatal effects of the Agrarian law, and their patrimonial eſtates devoted to the rapacity of their needy and powerful maſters.

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"We have bled," exclaimed they, "in the foreign wars, we must be crushed in the civil commotions of the republic." Their indignant murmurs reached the ears of Fulvius Flaccus; and that restless and popular leader revived the design of Tiberius, and proposed to extend to the Italian allies an equal share in the honours and privileges of Rome. The influence of the senate was successfully opposed to the authority of the consul: But although Flaccus was baffled in his first attempt, his fertile genius soon suggested a new expedient, more moderate in appearance but equally extensive in its consequences; and he moved, that whoever claimed the right of citizen of Rome, might appeal from the sentence of the censors to the judgment of the people. The senate was not deceived by the specious form of the proposal; and the united weight of that assembly again triumphed over the tumultuous efforts of the popular party.

Though Fulvius was disappointed in both these attempts, he was far from being discouraged; he blended in his own person the power of the supreme magistrate, and the important authority of a commissioner for executing the Agrarian law. That law, the constant terror of the opulent and the hope of the indigent, he immediatly prepared to enforce; and rejected in silent contempt the unanimous

unanimous ſolicitations of the ſenate, who in vain endeavoured to divert him from his purpoſe. But what they could not obtain from their own entreaties they derived from the rapacity of the enemies of the commonwealth: The Salyii, a tribe of Tranſalpine Gauls, had extended their devaſtions over the fertile diſtrict of Marſeilles; the defence of the Roman territories claimed the preſence of the conſul; and the ſenate might rejoice in the diſtant danger of foreign invaſion, which ſuſpended the immediate calamities of domeſtic diſſenſion.

But their exultation was premature and tranſient, and the glowing embers of diſcontent were quickened into open flame by the ſudden and unexpected return of Caius Gracchus from Sardinia to Rome. On the melancholy cataſtrophe of Tiberius, Caius had retired from public view, to improve his natural genius by the indefatigable ſtudy of hiſtory and eloquence; and to prepare himſelf for the ſplendid but dangerous career that he already anticipated. In his ſecure and ſequeſtered retreat he revolved the fame and fall of his brother; nor can it be thought ſurpriſing that in the ſhort and broken ſlumbers which he wreſted from contemplation, the ſhade of Tiberius ſhould riſe to his diſtempered fancy, upbraid his tardineſs, and predict his deſtruction: "It is in vain that you linger,

" linger, Caius, there is no avoiding your deſtiny, " and your fate and mine muſt be the ſame." He ſtarted from his ſleep, but the viſion was ſtill impreſſed upon his mind; he accepted the rigorous conditions; and relinquiſhing every hope of eluding his doom, he only aſpired to immortalize it by a glorious and illuſtrious life.

In the ſupport of the Italian allies the ſpirit and eloquence of Caius were firſt diſplayed; and the ſenate beheld with dread and jealouſy, the people with hope and admiration, the opening talents of the youthful orator. It is probable the ſuſpicions of the former facilitated the promotion of Gracchus to the office of quæſtor, and they readily embraced the opportunity of removing ſo formidable an adverſary to a diſtant ſtation; he was appointed to act as pro-quæſtor under the proconſul Aurelius Cotta, who had paſſed into Sardinia to reſtore the tranquillity of that iſland.

Beneath the banners of Aurelius the perſonal bravery of Gracchus was diſtinguiſhed, the temperance and ſimplicity of his private life were confirmed, and the juſtice and humanity of his public conduct were acknowledged and applauded. The various cities of Sardinia reſpected his virtues, and yielded to the ſolicitations of the quæſtor thoſe ſupplies which they had withheld from the authority of the conſul; through his influence

fluence the inhabitants conſented to relieve the neceſſities of the Roman troops; and a conſiderable preſent of corn, which Micipſa, king of Numidia, tranſmitted to the republic, was expreſsly granted to his regard for the virtues of Caius.

U. C. 629. While the people received with exultation, the ſenate liſtened in ſecret apprehenſion to the riſing renown of the brother of Tiberius; and their more open jealouſy was proclaimed by continuing the command of Aurelius a ſecond year. Their deſign could not elude the penetration of Caius; amidſt the tumults of war his thoughts had been inceſſantly directed to the civil adminiſtration of the republic; the honours of the tribuneſhip haunted his imagination; and no ſooner was he informed of the decree of the ſenate than he embarked from Sardinia and ſuddenly appeared in Rome.

That a quæſtor ſhould return before his general was a circumſtance yet unknown to the annals of Rome: The enemies of Gracchus were elated, his friends abaſhed; but the triumph of the firſt was checked, and the confidence of the laſt reſtored, by the eloquence of Caius. When ſummoned before the cenſors to anſwer for his conduct, the law, he obſerved, required him only to carry arms ten years; he had borne them twelve: And although he might have quitted his ſtation of quæſtor at the

the expiration of one year, he had remained in it near three. The revolt of Fregellæ was aſcribed to his intrigues; he refuted the groundleſs imputation; and his innocence was reluctantly proclaimed by the ſentence of his judges.

The defence of Caius delivered him from the authority of the cenſors; but a more ample vindication was due to the partiality of the people. In the full conſciouſneſs of injured virtue he appealed to his conduct in Sardinia: "In the diſ-
"charge of my office," ſaid he, "I have always
"purſued what I thought your intereſt required,
"not what my own ambition might have ſug-
"geſted. I gave no ſplendid entertainments; I
"ſuffered neither luſt to pollute my bed, nor
"luxury to diſgrace my table; my repaſts were
"ſuch as merely ſatisfied the frugal wants of na-
"ture; they were ſacred to ſobriety, and regu-
"lated by decency. I remained above two years
"in the province, yet no man can with truth ſay
"that I ever received even the ſmalleſt preſent
"from him, or that he was at any expence on my
"account. When I embarked from Rome I car-
"ried with me my purſe full, I returned with it
"empty; while others have carried into that pro-
"vince veſſels full of wine, and have brought
"them back full of gold."

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U. C. 650. The applauſe with which the diſcourſes of Caius were received, encouraged him to avow immediately his wiſhes, and to aſpire to the office of tribune; the ſenate in vain exerted their united influence to check his ambition; from the moſt diſtant parts of Italy a concourſe of Roman citizens, zealous in his ſupport, thronged to the capital, and overwhelmed all oppoſition. The extenſive ſpace of the Forum was incapable of containing their numbers; they ſtretched out their ballots from windows, and from the battlements; and the name of Gracchus was, in the election of Caius, again inſcribed among the tribunes of the people.

It had been the wiſh of Cornelia to be diſtinguiſhed as the mother of the Gracchi; that wiſh was accompliſhed; and the fame of Caius already promiſed to rival that of Tiberius. But the poſſeſſion of what ſhe had moſt earneſtly deſired was imbittered by the means that led to it; ſhe felt for the ſafety of her ſons, ſhe trembled for the proſperity of her country. In a letter from the Roman matron to her ſon, "You will tell me," ſaid ſhe, "that it is glorious to be revenged of our ene-
"mies; no one thinks ſo more than I, if we can
"be revenged without injury to the republic; but
"if not, often may our enemies eſcape; long
"may they be ſafe, if the good of the common-
"wealth

"wealth requires their ſafety." In a ſecond letter, which appears to be written after he had declared his intention of ſuing for the tribuneſhip, ſhe ſtill more ſtrongly declares her ſentiments. "I "take the gods to witneſs that, except the per- "ſons who killed my ſon Tiberius, no one ever "gave me ſo much affliction as you do in this "matter; you, from whom I might have ex- "pected ſome conſolation in my age, and who "ſurely ought of all my children to be moſt care- "ful not to diſtreſs me. I have not many years "to live, ſpare the republic ſo long for my ſake. "Shall I never ſee the madneſs of my family at "an end? When I am dead you will think to "honour me with a parent's rites; but what ho- "nour can my memory receive from you, by "whom I am abandoned and diſhonoured while "I live? But may the gods forbid that you "ſhould perſiſt; if you do, I fear that your de- "ſigns will lead to remorſe and diſtraction, which "can only be terminated with your exiſtence."

Such was the patriotic language of the daughter of the firſt Africanus. But the admonitions of a parent were diſregarded by the ambition, the reſentment, or the patriotiſm of Caius: He was inflamed by the applauſe of the multitude; he recollected with indignation the murder of an illuſtrious brother, and the impunity of the aſſaſſins;

and the calamities of the commons could no longer admit of excuſe or palliation. The arrogance of the opulent, and the corruption of the magiſtrates, were the themes of his public and private diſcourſe. His eloquence was prompt and perſuaſive; and when in abrupt and broken exclamations he depictured the misfortunes of his family, even his enemies were melted into tears: "The "murder of Tiberius---his body dragged from "the capitol through the ſtreets, and thrown into "the Tiber---his friends condemned to death by "the nobles, without trial or form of juſtice--- "his own forlorn and diſtreſsful condition.--- "Ah, wretch! whither turn myſelf? where hide "me?---Can the capitol afford me a refuge, yet "overflowed with the blood of my brother?--- "Can I fly home, to behold a mother wretched "and deſpairing." His looks, his actions, his tone of voice, proclaimed the anguiſh of his ſoul; and the paſſions of the orator were communicated to the boſoms of his hearers.

Yet it was not alone in the nervous and pathetic that Caius Gracchus excelled; as often as the nature of the ſubject required him to deſcend from the dignity and gravity of diſcuſſion, he could aſſume with equal facility the language of pointed humour or ſarcaſtic irony. Ariarathes, the king of Cappadocia, and the ally of the Romans,

mans, had been murdered at the inſtigation of Mithridates, king of Pontus, whoſe ſiſter he had married. The aſſaſſin of the father, under pretence of ſupporting the ſucceſſion of the ſon, aſpired to the government of Cappadocia; but the authority of Mithridates was oppoſed by the pretenſions of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, who had ſecured the perſon of the widow of Ariarathes, and in her name hoped to eſtabliſh his influence over the diſtracted kingdom. Their rival claims attracted the attention and interference of Rome; and in the aſſembly of the people a decree was paſſed, which required both the kings of Pontus and Bithynia to withdraw their forces from Cappadocia. The agents of the contending monarchs had openly ſolicited the ſupport of the ſenate by arguments more perſuaſive than honourable; and their diligence and liberality expoſed them to the obſervation and reproaches of Caius.

"None of us," ſaid he, as he addreſſed the people from the roſtrum, "ſtand forth in this "place for nothing: Even I, who endeavour to "fill the coffers, and to promote the welfare of "the ſtate, mean to be paid; not with money "indeed, but with your favour, and the enviable "recompenſe of a glorious name. The various "advocates of Mithridates and Nicomedes con-"ſult like me their own intereſts, and like me

" look up to reward, though of a different na-
" ture: Their zeal is kindled, and their eloquence
" inflamed, by the gold of Asia; while those who
" preserve a steady silence, understand perhaps
" their interest still better than those venal ora-
" tors: They have doubtless heard the story of
" the poet, who being vain that he had received
" a considerable sum of money for rehearsing a
" tragedy, was answered by another that it was
" not wonderful that he had gained so much by
" talking, since I, said his friend, have got ten
" times as much by holding my tongue; nor is
" there any thing," added Gracchus, " that a
" king on occasion will purchase at a greater ex-
" pence than silence."

It was not alone by words that Caius hoped to secure the affections of the multitude, his professions were seconded by his actions. The first moments of the tribuneship were devoted to the gratification of the people, the next to revenge and ambition. Although the Agrarian law remained in force, the effects of it had hitherto been eluded: It was renewed and confirmed by the influence of Gracchus; and an annual distribution of land was solemnly promised to the poorer citizens. Public granaries were erected, whence corn was constantly to be furnished to the indigent at near a sixth less than the original cost; and industry and œcono-

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my, the true ſources of national wealth and proſperity, were injured by the facility with which the means of ſubſiſtence were proffered to the ſlothful and extravagant.

A more popular decree appropriated to ſimilar purpoſes the eſtates which Attalus, king of Pergamus, had bequeathed to the Romans: Theſe were to be let under the inſpection of the cenſors; but the rents, inſtead of augmenting the public revenue, were to be allotted for the maintenance of the hungry crowd.

The care of the new tribune was not only directed to ſupply the wants, but to alleviate the hardſhips of his fellow-citizens: Nor could even the ſinews of the ſtate be relaxed by an humane regulation which fixed the age of military ſervice at ſeventeen, and imparted to the legions the advantage of uniform cloaths, as well as regular pay; a circumſtance which in modern times is thought ſo eſſential to the character of troops and the appearance of an army.

By the celebrated Porcian law, which allowed of an appeal to the people, every citizen might ſeek redreſs from the partial or intereſted ſentence of the executive magiſtrate. This alone appeared not to Graechus a ſufficient barrier againſt the partiality or corruption of the officers of the republic. He propoſed that no perſon, under pain

of capital punishment, should proceed against a citizen without a special commission from the people. An act so extensive must have amounted to nearly a total abolition of government: It enabled a popular faction to withhold every power which they apprehended might be employed against them. Nor could the republic find any resource from the enterprises of ambition or presumption in the authority of the consul, or the ample prerogatives of the dictator; but the clause which extended the act to the punishment of past offences, revealed the latent motive which had suggested it.

The year that succeeded the destruction of Tiberius Gracchus, Popilius Lænas had been raised to the dignity of consul; and in the execution of that important trust had distinguished himself by an implacable persecution of the adherents of Tiberius. He now beheld himself involved in an act which ascended to the transactions of his consulship; and conscious that he had nothing to expect from the mercy or moderation of Caius, he avoided the impending danger by a voluntary exile. His retreat satisfied the resentment of his enemies; and the new law, after having served the private purpose for which it was framed, appears to have fallen into disuse, and to have been obscured by its own absurdity.

In every measure of Caius might be discerned the vengeance

vengeance which he meditated againſt the opponents and aſſaſſins of his unhappy brother. We have already noticed the fruitleſs reſiſtance of Octavius to the innovations of his popular colleague. His degradation from the office of tribune had been the conſequence of his perſeverance; but the humiliating chaſtiſement did not, in the mind of Gracchus, atone for the guilt of his obſtinacy; a new law was propoſed and adopted, which, from the object of it, obtained the name of the Octavian law; and which eternally precluded the perſon, who had once been depoſed from any office by the voice of the people, from ever again filling any public ſituation.

To promote the happineſs of the commons might be the firſt, to revenge U. C. 631. the fate of his brother was probably the ſecond wiſh of Caius; and both united in urging him to perpetuate the authority that he had acquired. In a popular edict he had artfully inſerted a clauſe impowering the people to re-elect a tribune, if his continuance in office was requiſite for his fulfilling his public engagements. Of this clauſe he now availed himſelf; he declared that his plans for the advantage of the people were far from being accompliſhed; the multitude were dazzled by his ſplendid promiſes; amidſt a long liſt of illuſtrious candidates his name ſtood foremoſt; and as the fertile genius of Caius could never be exhauſted of

ſimilar pretences, he might flatter himſelf that the ſacred office of tribune was attached to his perſon for life.

The tribunitian powers were great; but the conſular authority was capable of embarraſſing the exerciſe of them; and Gracchus, in the promotion of Lucius Opimius to the latter dignity, had reaſon to dread the exertions of a bold and implacable adverſary. In the full poſſeſſion of popular favour, he might with confidence ſolicit whatever the multitude could grant. "He had yet one requeſt to "make, which, if approved, he ſhould conſider as "the full recompenſe of all his toils and labours; if "refuſed, he ſhould ſubmit to their judgment with-"out repining." It was at firſt imagined that he aſpired to unite in his own perſon the high prerogatives of conſul and tribune; and it is probable, in their tranſports of zeal and gratitude, that the giddy crowd would have laviſhed upon him the double title; but on the day of the election he appeared in the Forum holding the hand of Caius Fannius Strabo. The friendſhip of Gracchus enſured the ſucceſs of Fannius: And as the influence of the tribune increaſed, the ſenate beheld with indignation that of their own order gradually decline.

New laws and regulations trampled on the remnant of their power and dignity; The former

mer was invaded by the decree which deprived them of the ſmall part of judicial authority which the moderation or timidity of Tiberius had left them; and transferred to the equeſtrian order the deciſion of all private cauſes. The latter was wounded when from the new arrangements of the people, Caius, as he harangued from the roſtrum, contemptuouſly turned from the ſenate, and addreſſed himſelf to the commons as the ſource of all authority, and alone worthy of his attention.

In the blaze of proſperity the triumphant tribune could not entirely conceal his exultation: "I have at length humbled the ſenate," was his unguarded and invidious exclamation. But in the moment that he indulged in the boundleſs proſpects of political dominion, the horizon was already obſcured by the riſing clouds of adverſity. In the promotion of Fannius to the conſulſhip, Gracchus vainly hoped that he had ſecured an able and ſubmiſſive dependant, inſtead of creating a dangerous and unaccommodating ſuperior. But when he reſumed the project of extending the freedom of the city to the Italian allies, he was ſurprized by the oppoſition of Fannius; the conſul aſſerted the independence of his own judgment; and he expelled from the city the multitudes that had been attracted by the hope of ſharing the important privileges of a citizen of Rome.

Rome. The ſenate rejoiced in the diſſenſions and hoſtile edicts of the tribune and conſul: And if the prudence of Gracchus can be praiſed, his magnanimity is arraigned by his deſerting the cauſe of the allies, and yielding to the vigour and conſtancy of Fannius.

The ſpirits of the ſenate were again raiſed by the late diſappointment of Caius; they endeavoured to improve their advantage, and privately to ſubvert that influence which they dreaded openly to attack. Livius Druſus, a tribune of the people, was of illuſtrious extraction, decent manners, and diſtinguiſhed for his addreſs and eloquence; his birth inclined him to the party of the nobles, and his abilities recommended him as the moſt formidable competitor of Gracchus. He liſtened to the ſolicitations of the ſenate, and agreed at their ſuggeſtions to divide and diſtract the opinion and eſteem of the multitude; inſtead of oppoſing, he ſurpaſſed the popular and extravagant propoſals of Caius; and if his diſſimulation ſhould be condemned, his dexterity muſt be applauded. Rome already reſounded with the praiſes of Druſus; and Gracchus obſerved, with ſecret anxiety, that in proportion as the reputation of his colleague advanced, his own receded.

While Caius ſtill ſtruggled to maintain or regain his aſcendancy over the minds of the people, he

he was unwarily entangled in a new and more fatal snare; Rubrius, one of his colleagues, was prevailed on by the gold or influence of the senate, to unite his efforts with those of Drusus for the destruction of Gracchus. A decree had lately passed for rebuilding Carthage, and for establishing there a colony of six thousand Romans; with well dissembled regard Rubrius proposed to confer this honourable duty on Caius and Flaccus; the popular leaders were blind to the insidious design which was meditated; the most strenuous of their adherents embarked with them for the shores of Africa; and, during the absence of his rival, Drusus was diligently employed in establishing his own empire over the hearts of his fellow-citizens.

In the assiduous labours of two months U. C. 632
the ruins of Carthage began to assume the appearance of returning prosperity; the name of Juno, the ancient protectress of the African republic, was imparted to the new city; but the toils of the founders were interrupted by advices of a more important nature from Italy. The popularity of Drusus daily encreased; the period for the re-election of tribunes rapidly approached; and Gracchus and Flaccus, impatient of the intrigues of their enemies, and anxious for the support of their friends, returned to Rome. The former professed himself again a candidate for the tribuneship; but

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he had diſpleaſed his colleagues by the demolition of an elevated ſeat which they had deſigned at the public ſpectacles for their own order; and if the voices of the people were ſtill in favour of Caius, the partiality or reſentment of the other tribunes precluded him from reaping the advantage of their eſteem, and he beheld himſelf reduced to the ſituation of a private citizen.

The promotion of Lucius Opimius to the dignity of conſul was a ſecond and ſcarce leſs ſevere diſappointment to Gracchus than his own excluſion from the liſt of tribunes; and ſenſible of his waining influence, he would in privacy and tranquillity have awaited the return of popularity, but his prudent inclinations yielded to the more daring and impetuous counſels of Fulvius Flaccus. The new conſul had threatened the repeal of the laws which had been enacted under the auſpices of Caius; he prepared to recall the colony which had been planted at Carthage; and in every expreſſion and action he proclaimed his fixed deſign of ſatiating his own revenge, and reſtoring the ſuperiority of the nobles.

More eloquent than judicious, more enterpriſing than provident, the genius of Gracchus was better ſuited for attack than defence. He had ſhaken the authority of the ſenate; he was incapable of ſupporting the pretenſions of the people.

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A ſuperſtitious race were inſenſibly infected by the rumours of portents and prodigies; by the pretended anger of the heavens, which at the powerful invocation of Opimius, was declared by innumerable ſigns againſt the preſumption of Caius. Exaſperated by the arts of his enemies, and inflamed by the repreſentations of Fulvius, Gracchus aſſembled his adherents to maintain the legality of his decrees, and to confirm the colony which he had left at Carthage; his followers were ſtill numerous and formidable; and as they eſcorted him to the capitol, the imprudent and inſolent expreſſion of a lictor, "Make room, ye ſe-"ditious citizens, for honeſt men," provoked them to inſtant and mortal revenge; the lictor was oppreſſed and ſlain; and Gracchus in vain, as he withdrew to his houſe, accuſed the raſhneſs of his party, which had ſubjected him to the reproach of having polluted the ſtreets of Rome with the blood of a fellow-citizen.

In an aſſembly of the ſenate Opimius diſplayed the body of the unfortunate lictor, and painted in glowing colours the guilt of Gracchus. But little eloquence was neceſſary to excite that order againſt a man who had ſo frequently invaded their deareſt privileges; and in the decree which authoriſed the conſul to provide for the ſafety of the republic,

republic, Opimius exultingly received their sanction to gratify his personal and political enmity.

The fatal intelligence of their danger had been rapidly communicated to Fulvius and Caius; and the numbers who still professed to defend in their persons the privileges of the commons, might in a moment of despair inspire their final resolution to vindicate their integrity by arms. Amidst a licentious crowd, whose apprehensions were drowned in wine, Fulvius passed a night of riotous excess. In melancholy conversation with his own family Caius awaited the approach of morn; it was in vain that he laboured to suppress his secret emotions, he recollected the vision of Tiberius, and the doom which his kindred shade had pronounced; and when the dawn summoned him to join the partners of his fortunes on Mount Aventine, with only a dagger concealed under his robe, he rose to meet the fate he foreboded. On the threshold his footsteps were suspended by his weeping and distracted wife: "You are leaving "me, Caius," cried she, "not to ascend the "rostrum as a tribune; not to expose yourself "to a glorious war, where, should you fall, your "remains would be honoured; but to meet the "murderers of Tiberius; to meet them without "arms; and, ever magnanimous yourself, de"termined rather to suffer than to offer an injury.

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"But can the republic reap any advantage from "your deſtruction? or can you hope for ſafety, "where every thing is decided by violence and "the ſword? Had your brother periſhed before "the walls of Numantia, a truce would at leaſt "have reſtored to us his body, and we might "have enjoyed the melancholy ſatisfaction of ren-"dering to it the laſt honours. Soon, perhaps, I "alſo muſt become a ſuppliant to ſome river, or "the ſea, to diſcover where your remains are con-"cealed; for, after the murder of Tiberius, how "can you truſt any longer either to the protec-"tion of the laws or of the gods?" The mind of Gracchus was oppreſſed by her ſorrows, but his honour was engaged; and he reluctantly indulged a mournful and momentary delay while he embraced for the laſt time his afflicted conſort.

On Mount Aventine, the preſence of Caius was hailed by a looſe and diſorderly crowd, whoſe tranſient valour was the effect of their nocturnal orgies. His apprehenſions were confirmed by the intelligence that the conſul Opimius was advancing at the head of the ſenate, and of the equeſtrian order, completely armed, and ſupported by the moſt vigorous of their ſlaves. If the courage of Gracchus was equal to the peril, his ſtrength was inadequate to the conteſt. Even the ardent Flaccus confeſſed that reſiſtance was hopeleſs; and

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conſented to the tardy meaſure of negociation. His youngeſt ſon, a boy of twelve years, whoſe modeſt beauty and tender age, it was ſuppoſed, might have ſoftened their obdurate enemies, was entruſted with propoſals of peace. But the timid and weeping meſſenger was ſternly reproved by the implacable conſul; and inſtant ſubmiſſion was the only condition that Opimius would liſten to. The ſame herald was again diſpatched to deprecate his wrath; but his youth and innocence could not protect him from the rage of the inexorable magiſtrate: He was thrown into priſon; and Opimius, eager to ſatiate his vengeance, aſcended in arms the hoſtile height of Mount Aventine.

The fate of the conflict was ſuch as might have been expected from the nature of the parties; the multitude were broken, or allured to deſert their chiefs by the promiſe of pardon; and the deſtruction of the leaders was enſured by the proclamations which offered for their heads their weight in gold. The roof of an ancient friend offered but a momentary aſylum to Fulvius; the doors were forced; and his head was inſtantly ſevered from his body by the avarice or revenge of his purſuers.

The flight of Gracchus was attended by more memorable circumſtances. In the guilty tumult he had refuſed to pollute his hands with Roman blood; and when he beheld the rout or deſertion

tion of his party, he raiſed his dagger againſt his own life. The blow was averted by his friend Pomponius, and by his brother-in-law Licinius Craſſus. He traverſed with fearful ſteps the centre of the city, gained the bridge Sublicius; and obtained a ſhort reſpite by the conſtancy of Licinius and Pomponius, who periſhed nobly in defending the paſſage of it.

A wood, ſacred to the furies, received the miſerable and fugitive Caius; the devoted ſhade concealed him for a few minutes from the ſearch of his enemies; but every avenue was ſtrictly guarded, all further eſcape was precluded, and he already heard the voices and footſteps of his purſuers. One faithful ſlave ſtill accompanied him; and Philoſtratus acknowledged with tears, and executed with reſolution, the laſt and moſt painful orders of his maſter; he plunged a dagger in the boſom of Gracchus; the ſtroke was followed by inſtant death; and the generous ſlave, ſcorning to ſurvive the bloody cataſtrophe, ſheathed the weapon in his own breaſt. Their bodies yet warm were found by the active emiſſaries of Opimius; the brains of Gracchus were ſcooped out; the vacancy was filled with lead; ſeventeen pounds of gold, its weight, were delivered to the bearer; and the tranſport with which Opimius received

the inhuman trophy, allowed him not to ſuſpect the barbarous fraud of him who preſented it.

The courage, the eloquence, and genius of the younger Gracchus are univerſally confeſſed, but the purity of his deſigns are of a more equivocal nature; and while his advocates dwell on the generous ardour with which he embraced the cauſe of the oppreſſed, his adverſaries maliciouſly inſinuate his inſatiate ambition and thirſt of power. Yet the judgment rather than the integrity of Caius can be arraigned; and aſcend but a century and the Agrarian law might have promoted the happineſs, and confirmed the freedom of the citizens of Rome. That law expired with the laſt of the Gracchi; and though future tribunes might, in the proſecution of their own ambitious projects, allure the people by promiſes of immediate advantage, or by a profuſe diſtribution of their own treaſures, yet none were ſufficiently hardy to encounter in the cauſe of the oppreſſed the enmity of the ſenate, or ſufficiently juſt to propoſe regulations which muſt have confounded their poſterity with the nameleſs multitude. The commons themſelves were ſoon ſenſible of their loſs; the ground which was ſtained with the blood of the Gracchi was ſolemnly conſecrated; innumerable ſtatues roſe to perpetuate their virtues; and if their bodies were denied the rights of ſepulture

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by the inflexible reſentment of the nobles, their virtues were embalmed through ſucceſſive ages by the praiſes and adoration of the people.

The cruel diſpoſition of Opimius was diſplayed in the abuſe of his victory, and above three thouſand of the defenceleſs and proſtrate multitude periſhed by the ſword or the ſentence of the conſul: But the Romans were long accuſtomed to the habits of ſlaughter; not only in foreign war and civil commotion, but in their daily amuſements, they exulted in the ſufferings of the human race. The combats of gladiators had been communicated from Greece and Aſia to Italy; and near five centuries from the foundation of Rome, the barbarous piety of Marcus and Decimus Brutus celebrated the obſequies of their father by the mortal combats of their ſlaves. The ſavage practice was admired and improved; the moſt vigorous captives were purchaſed by perſons who inſtructed them in the uſe of arms, and extorted a guilty ſubſiſtence by hiring them to the rich to adorn the bloody pomp of their public entertainments. The devoted victims were led in pairs by their maſter to the fatal ſcene of their triumph or deſtruction; they were ſworn never to recede, but to fight to the laſt extremity; and, if exhauſted with fatigue and faint from wounds, a luckleſs combatant implored the mercy of his ad-

verſary, too often the theatre reſounded with the cries of the frantic ſpectators, "Let him receive "the ſword;" and their ſanguinary ſentence inſtantly was ſealed in the blood of the wretched ſuppliant.

The combat of the *Secutor* with the *Retiarius*, as deſcribed in the eighth Satire of Juvenal, formed one of the moſt lively ſcenes in the bloody ſports of the amphitheatre: The Secutor was armed with an helmet, ſword, and buckler; his naked antagoniſt had only a large net and a trident; with the firſt he endeavoured to entangle, with the laſt to diſpatch his enemy; if he miſſed the firſt throw, he was obliged to fly from the purſuit of the Secutor till he had prepared his net for a ſecond caſt. The numbers of gladiators were ſwelled with the encreaſing depravity of Rome: In the ædileſhip of Julius Cæſar the cruel pleaſures of the multitude were prolonged by the combats of ſix hundred and forty; but their deſpair was ſometimes fatal to their employers; and Spartacus, who long exerciſed the valour of the Roman legions, and who triumphed over the conſular forces of Lentulus, had been trained to arms in the deſperate and dexterous condition of a gladiator.

Chapter the Twenty-third.

WARS WITH THE ALLOBROGES AND DALMATIANS. —FORMIDABLE MIGRATION OF THE CIMBRI;— THEY DEFEAT THE CONSUL PAPIRIUS CARBO. — ORIGIN OF THE JUGURTHINE WAR. — INTERFERENCE OF THE ROMANS. — JUGURTHA IS SUMMONED TO ROME; — HIS INTRIGUES; — MURDERS MASSIVA; — IS ORDERED TO QUIT ITALY. — WAR WITH NUMIDIA. — THE ROMAN ARMY IS SURROUNDED BY THE NUMIDIANS, AND COMPELLED TO CAPITULATE. — THE SENATE DETERMINE TO CONTINUE THE WAR. — METELLUS IS APPOINTED TO THE COMMAND IN NUMIDIA; — HIS RAPID SUCCESS. — DISTRESS OF JUGURTHA. — ORIGIN AND CHARACTER OF MARIUS; — HIS FIRMNESS AS TRIBUNE; — IS CHOSEN LIEUTENANT TO METELLUS; — RETURNS TO ROME, AND SUES FOR THE CONSULSHIP; — HIS ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE; — HE SUPERCEDES METELLUS; — SURPRISES THAPSA; — POS-

— POSESSES HIMSELF OF THE TREASURES OF JUGURTHA; — DEFEATS THE ARMIES OF NUMIDIA AND MAURITANIA. — SYLLA IS APPOINTED QUÆSTOR TO THE ARMY OF MARIUS. — HE IS DISPATCHED TO NEGOCIATE WITH BOCCHUS; — HE PREVAILS ON BOCCHUS TO DELIVER UP JUGURTHA.

U.C. 632. 642. THE clamours of the multitude were ſilenced by the fate of Gracchus and the ſlaughter of three thouſand of their fellow-citizens; their fears were proclaimed by the public ſentence which acquitted and applauded the conſul Opimius; and during ten years which elapſed from the death of Caius to the commencement of the Jugurthine war, the attention of the Romans was principally directed to multiply their colonies, and diffuſe the terror of their name beyond the mountains of the Alps. The ſurnames of Allobrogicus and Dalmaticus reveal the triumphs of Fabius and Metellus over the Allobroges and Dalmatians. But in Thrace the conſul Marcus Porcius Cato was ſurpriſed and defeated by the Scordiſci, a barbarous race, who boaſted their deſcent from the Gallic followers of Brennus: So complete was the deſtruction of the Romans, ſo diligent was the purſuit

purſuit of the barbarians, that Cato alone eſcaped from the diſaſtrous field. His ſucceſsful flight expoſed him to the indignation of his country; on his return to Rome he was accuſed of extortion; and the ſentence which condemned him to perpetual baniſhment, might be conſidered rather as the puniſhment of his cowardice than of his avarice.

The victors ſpread themſelves over Theſſaly and Dalmatia, and extended their devaſtations to the Hadriatic; their progreſs was checked by the utmoſt verge of the land, and a ſhower of javelins and miſſile weapons diſcharged into the ocean, proclaimed their impotent reſentment againſt the waves which interrupted their conqueſts. In the licentious purſuit of ſpoil their forces had been ſeparated; the vigilance of Didius, prætor of Illyricum, ſeized the moment of enterpriſe; at the head of a ſmall but well diſciplined army he traverſed Theſſaly, attacked and cut in pieces the ſcattered bands of the rovers, and compelled them again to retire within the limits of Thrace.

From the north a more powerful inundation of the barbarians threatened the tranquillity and even the ſafety of Italy: On the frontier of Illyricum the innumerable ſwarm was firſt deſcried by the aſtoniſhed Romans; and the name of *Cimbri* was applied to the promiſcuous crowd

which had been ſwelled by the turbulent tribes of the Teutones and Ambrones, the Tectoſagi and Tigurini. Their numbers were vaguely computed at three hundred thouſand fighting men; and their intentions of permanent conqueſt were atteſted by their wives and children who accompanied them. They had attempted already to penetrate the receſſes of the Hercinian foreſt, and to diſpoſſeſs the Boian Gauls of their ſettlements; but the invaders were repulſed by the kindred valour of their adverſaries; and baffled in their firſt enterpriſe they directed their tumultuous march towards Aquileia. The ſafety of the province of Illyricum demanded the preſence of the conſul Papirius Carbo; he ventured imprudently to expoſe the legions to the ſhock of their robuſt and gigantic enemies; the Romans were rudely encountered and overthrown, and a ſudden tempeſt alone preſerved them from total deſtruction; yet the barbarians, with unaccountable levity, ſeemed to have turned aſide from the invaſion of Italy; and while they indulged themſelves in the deſolation of Tranſalpine Gaul, the Romans embraced the welcome reſpite to extend their influence and power over the ſpacious realms of Africa.

The ſceptre of Numidia had, after the death of Maſiniſſa, paſſed to the hands of his ſon Micipſa; and the fears of that prince for the tranquil ſuc-

ceſſion

ceſſion of his ſons Adherbal and Hiempſal were awakened by the courage, the addreſs, and the ambition of his nephew Jugurtha. He would willingly have extinguiſhed his jealouſy in the blood of him who had raiſed it, but he dreaded the reſentment of his ſubjects, who already admired the beauty, the ſtrength, and dexterity of Jugurtha; and the obnoxious kinſman was detached with a body of cavalry to join the ſecond Africanus under the walls of Numantia, in the vain hope that his daring ſpirit might precipitate his deſtruction. But the project which had been formed for the ruin, enſured the ſafety, and inflamed the ambition of Jugurtha. In the ſiege of Numantia he acquired the affections of the ſoldiers, and deſerved the eſteem of their leader; the noble youths who had accompanied Scipio, urged him at the death of Micipſa to aſpire to the crown of Numidia; they repreſented to him the venality of Rome, and that a liberal diſtribution of his treaſures would ſoon reconcile the ſenate to the juſtice of his enterpriſe.

When Numantia was levelled with the ground, Jugurtha was diſmiſſed with the applauſe of the victor, and was ſtrongly recommended to the favour of Micipſa. The aged monarch, if he reſpected not the virtues of his nephew, feared at leaſt the fond partiality of Rome. By an act of imprudent

imprudent though princely generoſity, he hoped to ſecure in him a faithful guardian and protector for the weakneſs of his ſons; and his laſt will bequeathed his dominions jointly to Adherbal, Hiempſal, and Jugurtha.

The haughty ſpirit of Hiempſal revolted at the unjuſt partition; and the ſame ſarcaſm that reproached the laviſh bequeſt of his father, impeached the claim of Jugurtha. The latter had propoſed that all edicts which had paſſed during the five laſt years of the reign of Micipſa, when age had impaired the faculties of that prince, ſhould be repealed. "I conſent to it readily," replied Hiempſal, with an air of exultation; "for "it is but three years ſince he adopted you." The ſeverity of the reply ſunk deep into the mind of Jugurtha; he meditated a dark and deadly revenge: A few nights after Hiempſal was murdered in his bed; and the preſent of his head, which was accepted by his perfidious kinſman, ſufficiently revealed the author of the atrocious deed.

The murder of Hiempſal was the ſignal of open war between Adherbal and Jugurtha. But the inexperience of the former was unequally oppoſed to the veteran ſkill of the latter; Adherbal, after an ineffectual ſtruggle, ſought refuge in the territories of Rome; and the ſpacious kingdom

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of Numidia was united under the ſole authority of Jugurtha.

Yet the mind of the uſurper was oppreſſed by gloomy and conſtant apprehenſions: He dreaded the powerful interference of Rome; and he ſoon experienced what he dreaded. Though the ſenate were not inſenſible to the liberality of Jugurtha, they could not reject the ſuppliant grandſon of Maſiniſſa; and Lucius Opimius was appointed as principal commiſſioner to adjuſt the pretenſions of the rival princes; and, by an impartial diviſion of Numidia, to extinguiſh the embers of future diſcord.

If in the deſtruction of Gracchus and his adherents the character of Opimius was ſtained with cruelty, in his mediation between Adherbal and Jugurtha it was with equal juſtice expoſed to the charge of venality: The gold of the royal aſſaſſin atoned for all his crimes, and ſanctioned all his deſires. The ſpecious partiality of Opimius aſſigned to Adherbal a part of Numidia abounding in riches, and adorned with flouriſhing cities; but whoſe inhabitants, luxurious and enervated, dreaded the weight of arms; and whoſe wealth only ſerved to tempt the rapacity of the firſt daring invader: While to Jugurtha were allotted the populous and fertile provinces which border on Mauritania; whoſe hardy natives, in the labours

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of agriculture and the chace, prepared their limbs for the more dangerous toils of war.

In poſſeſſion of the faireſt portion of Numidia, Jugurtha impatiently aſpired to the dominion of the whole; and ſcarce had the commiſſioners returned from Africa, before the Romans were aſtoniſhed by the intelligence that Adherbal was defeated, and inveſted in Cirta by the arms of Jugurtha. So daring an infraction ought to have kindled the inſtant reſentment of the republic; but the reſolutions of the ſenate were languid and dilatory. New commiſſioners were appointed, and new negociations were adopted; Jugurtha bribed the firſt, and perplexed the laſt; and while he affected to liſten with reſpect to the mediation of Rome, the garriſon of Cirta were compelled to capitulate; and Adherbal was involved in the ſame fate as his brother Hiempſal.

The ſenate ſtill heſitated; but the indignation of the multitude was loud and generous; and Caius Memmius, the tribune of the people, diſplayed from the roſtrum the corruption of the nobles, and the guilt of Jugurtha. What might have been denied to juſtice was granted to ſhame; and an army haſtily levied, and commanded by Calpurnius Beſtia, entered Numidia. Invincible in arms, the conſul was vanquiſhed by the gold of his adverſary. The ſubmiſſion of Jugurtha was accepted,

accepted, and he was confirmed by Beſtia in the poſſeſſion of the throne that he had uſurped. But the ſcandalous tranſaction kindled again the eloquence of Memmius; even the ſenate bluſhed; and Jugurtha was ſummoned to vindicate his conduct before the tribunal of that aſſembly.

Senſible of his own inferiority in arms, the king of Numidia ſtill depended on his native arts. The faith of the republic was pledged for his ſafety; and he conſented to degrade the dignity of a monarch by appearing as a ſuppliant. His dreſs was plain and humble, his deportment calculated to excite pity rather than envy; and he only retained the character of a prince in the inſidious profuſion with which he laviſhed his treaſures. But he found the more he gave, the more he was expected to give; and though Rome was venal, that the wealth of Africa would ſoon be exhauſted in the vain attempt of ſatisfying her rapacity. He had gained the ſenate; but the people ſtill purſued him with threats and reproaches; and a new crime compelled him to avoid their immediate vengeance, by quitting Italy with precipitation.

Maſſiva, a grandſon of Maſiniſſa, and who, beſides Jugurtha, alone remained of the royal race, was perſuaded by the conſul Albinus to urge his pretenſions to the Numidian throne. The voice of a competitor awakened the rage and overwhelmed

whelmed the prudence of the king of Numidia. He entruſted his revenge to the faithful arm of Bomilcar, one of his moſt confidential domeſtics; and Maſſiva was publickly aſſaſſinated in the ſtreets of Rome. Though the hand of Jugurtha was not ſeen in the execution of the crime, yet it was little doubted who prompted it: The diligence of the conſul Albinus traced the deed to its guilty author; but the people amidſt their indignation reſpected the ſanctity of the public faith; Jugurtha was commanded to quit the territories of the republic; and as he caſt a laſt look on the walls of Rome, he could not repreſs the reproachful exclamation "Venal city: how readily would'ſt "thou ſell thyſelf, could there be found any man "rich enough to be the purchaſer."

U. C. 643. The immediate conduct of the Numidian war was entruſted to Albinus; and his reſentment for the fate of Maſſiva would, it was ſuppoſed, have ſtimulated him to the moſt ſtrenuous exertions; but Albinus appears to have ſlumbered over the important enterpriſe; and when ſummoned to Rome to preſide over the election of conſuls, his inactivity was ſtill more unhappily ſucceeded by the rapacious diligence of his brother Aulus. With fatal perſeverance Aulus preſſed the ſiege of Suthul, a ſtrong and almoſt inacceſſible fortreſs, where the Numidian monarch had

had depoſited the greater part of his treaſures. While the Roman general indulged his fancy in the contemplation of the rich ſpoil, he was ſuddenly awakened to a ſenſe of his danger by the unwelcome preſence of Jugurtha. Each avenue was ſecured by the diligence of the Numidians; the Roman army was inveſted on every ſide; the fidelity of the auxiliaries was corrupted; the conſtancy of the legions was ſhaken; and the golden viſions of Aulus gave place to abject deſpair: His camp was already pervaded by famine; and he conſented to purchaſe his immediate ſafety by the diſgraceful conditions of paſſing under the yoke, of evacuating in ten days Numidia, and of ſubſcribing, in the name of the republic, an equal treaty of peace with the victor.

The treaty which had been ſigned by Aulus was rejected with indignation by the Roman ſenate; the conduct of the war, with the dignity of conſul, were committed to Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, the nephew of the celebrated Macedonicus; and the atchievements of Metellus were worthy of the race he was deſcended from. His preſence reſtored the obedience and diſcipline of the legions, which had been ſhaken and neglected by the weakneſs and indulgence of Albinus; in two ſucceſſive years, as conſul and pro-conſul, he baffled the U.C. 644, 645.

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arts and defeated the armies of Jugurtha. The pride of the Numidian monarch was humbled, his hopes broken; even Bomilcar, in whom he had repoſed his chief confidence, had conſpired againſt his life; he was aſſailed at once by open force and ſecret treaſon; he feared the Romans, but he dreaded ſtill more his own ſubjects; his days were clouded by the moſt gloomy apprehenſions, his nights were paſſed in ſleepleſs anxiety; he ſtarted at every noiſe, he trembled at his own ſhadow. Oppreſſed by remorſe and deſpair, he conſented to deliver to the Roman general, his arms, his elephants, and his treaſures: But the fears of a man, or the ſpirit of a king, revolted at the condition of ſubmitting to the mercy of the Romans; and Metellus aſpired to the honour of leading in chains the captive ſovereign of Numidia, when his expectations were blaſted, not by the valour and addreſs of Jugurtha, but by the unexpected appointment of a rival, whoſe humble origin he had deſpiſed, and whoſe proud pretenſions he had derided.'

Arpinum, an obſcure village of Samnium, and which now is confounded in the modern kingdom of Naples, might boaſt the birth of Caius Marius. In the indigent condition of peaſants, his father and mother earned a ſcanty ſubſiſtence by the labour of their own hands; but the reſtleſs

reſtleſs youth diſdained the tranquil and inglorious occupation of huſbandry; and at the age of ſeventeen he enliſted in the Roman legions. His ſtrength, his courage, and his diligence attracted the notice of his commanders; and it was probably in the ſtation of a ſubaltern officer, that in the ſiege of Numantia he deſerved and obtained the applauſe of the ſecond Africanus. In the army his riſe was gradual but inceſſant; and every ſtep was the recompenſe of ſome ſignal and illuſtrious action; amidſt his elevation he ſtill preſerved the ruſtic manners of his early youth; but his rude exterior concealed an ardent and inſatiate ambition; and from the attainment of military honours, he aſpired to participate in the civil adminiſtration of his country.

His birth and ſervices recommended him to the commons; and ſoon after the death of Caius Gracchus, they eagerly embraced the opportunity of mortifying the nobles by promoting to the ſituation of tribune, the ſon of an obſcure peaſant. In his new office, Marius diſplayed the various qualities of prudence and firmneſs. Although he avoided reviving the public diſſenſions by imitating the example of the Gracchi, yet his fearleſs ſpirit aſſerted with boldneſs the ſacred character he was inveſted with. He had propoſed a new re-

gulation to reſtrain the confuſion of popular elections; the ſenate with-held their conſent from the ſalutary project; and the undaunted tribune not only menaced the conſul with inſtant impriſonment but actually committed Lucius Metellus, who had preſumed to vote againſt his propoſal. The diſpute was terminated by the ſubmiſſion of the ſenate; and the family of Metellus probably overlooked the inſult, ſince the appointment of Quintus Cæcilius to conduct the war in Numidia was followed by the nomination of Marius as his lieutenant.

As ſecond in command, Marius confirmed the public opinion of his own military talents, and repined at the exploits and renown of his leader. Towards the end of the ſecond campaign he ſolicited permiſſion to return to Rome, to ſue for the office of conſul. Decency would not permit Metellus to refuſe his requeſt; but he diſmiſſed him with the ſarcaſtic admonition, "it "will be time enough, Marius, for you to ſtand "for the conſulate, when my own ſon ſhall be "of age to be your colleague."

At Rome, the reception of Marius ſurpaſſed his fondeſt expectation. The commons liſtened in tranſport to the atchievements of a warrior, whoſe fame reflected luſtre on their own order. Inſtead of concealing, he boaſted the meanneſs of his

his origin; compared his own deeds with thoſe of the nobles; and promiſed in one campaign the final conqueſt of Numidia. His frankneſs was applauded, his actions recompenſed, and his aſſurances accepted; he was raiſed to the dignity of conſul; and his ambitious deſires were accompliſhed by his appointment to the command againſt Jugurtha.

The ſenate were mortified by the promotion, but they had ſilently acquieſced in the nomination of Marius. His demand of recruits and levies was inſtantly complied with; and they flattered themſelves that the popularity of the new conſul would be extinguiſhed by the reluctance of the citizens to partake the hardſhips and dangers of the Numidian war. But Marius diſcerned, expoſed, and eluded the ſnare: In an aſſembly of the people he recapitulated the difficulties to which he was ſubjected. "To prepare for war "and at the ſame time to be frugal of the pub- "lic wealth; to compel to the ſervice thoſe "whom you are unwilling to diſpleaſe; to at- "tend to every thing that concerns the ſtate both "at home and abroad; and to ſtruggle againſt "a confederacy of envious and factious men, "determined to oppoſe all my meaſures; theſe "are more arduous attempts than you, my fel- "low-citizens, can eaſily imagine.

"If," continued he, "in the discharge of im-
"portant offices, other men should fail, they are
"protected from censure and condemnation by
"the lustre of their illustrious descent, by the
"heroic actions of their ancestors, the credit of
"their relations and friends, and the numerous
"crowd of their clients and dependents. But I
"have no resource of this kind to rely on; and
"my sole hope and confidence must be in my
"own virtue and integrity.

"I cannot dazzle, indeed, your judgments with
"a long train of the images of my progenitors;
"nor can I reckon the consulships and triumphs
"which have adorned my family. But I can show
"you spears, banners, trappings, and other military
"rewards, which have been given me by the ge-
"nerals under whom I served; and I can show
"you my body covered with scars of wounds,
"and all *before*; these are my images, these are
"my triumphs; and such is my nobility, not an
"inheritance from others, but what I have my-
"self purchased at the expence of hardships, la-
"bours, and perils.

"I am reproached that I am destitute of elo-
"quence, and ignorant of Grecian literature; but
"I despise talents which may serve to palliate in-
"famy; and contemn arts, which in polishing,
"enervate the mind. The lessons I have learned

"in

" in the ſervice of the common-wealth are indeed
" far different; to vanquiſh an enemy in the field;
" to force him from his ſtrong holds; to fear no-
" thing but diſgrace; to bear both cold and heat;
" to lodge on the ground; and to endure at the
" ſame time hunger and fatigue. It is by the
" practice of theſe duties that I ſhall animate my
" troops; nor ſhall *my* glory be the fruit of *their*
" toils *only*; for he who indulges in eaſe while they
" are expoſed to hardſhips, acts the part of a ty-
" rant, and not of a general."

The rude eloquence and arguments of the illiterate orator were ſuited to the congenial minds of his auditors; and ſtrong in the eſteem of the multitude, Marius ventured on a new and important regulation. The ſixth century, or laſt claſs of the people, who poſſeſſed no property, had been excluded from military ſervice. The duties of a legionary ſoldier had become too ſevere for the opulent, it promiſed to relieve the wants of the indigent citizens. The barrier which had been long reſpected was broken down by the daring ſpirit of Marius; he enrolled, without regard to their condition, the moſt vigorous of the Romans; and with his new and robuſt legions, embarked for, and ſafely landed on the coaſt of Africa.

The arms of Metellus had compelled Jugurtha

to abandon Numidia, and ſeek a refuge in the court of Bocchus, king of Mauritania. But in the midſt of his conqueſts, the pro-conſul heard with aſtoniſhment and indignation that his command was ſuperceded by the appointment of Marius. He reproached the levity of the people, reviled the ingratitude of his ſucceſſor, and in ſullen inactivity awaited his approach. No ſooner was he informed that Marius was landed in Africa, than without deſcending to an interview, he quitted the army and embarked for Italy.

To fulfil his promiſes to the people, and to rival the exploits of his predeceſſor, the new conſul advanced towards Thapſa: The town, ſtrong in its natural ſituation and the numbers of its garriſon, might have endured a long and regular ſiege; but the inhabitants, aſtoniſhed at the unexpected appearance of Marius, ſurrendered at the firſt ſummons. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, the conſul preſſed forwards to the attack of another fortreſs, which had been deemed by the Numidians impregnable, and which contained the treaſures of Jugurtha. Its lofty battlements aroſe on a ſolid rock, and its ramparts and towers ſeemed to defy the efforts of human art. The ſoldiers who defended it permitted and derided the approaches of the beſiegers; one way alone appeared to lead to the ſummit; and the braveſt of

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the legionaries had already periſhed in the vain effort to aſcend the ſteep and narrow paſſage. Marius already revolved the diſgraceful expedient of relinquiſhing the enterpriſe, when a Ligurian ſoldier in the purſuit of ſpoil, diſcerned an unfrequented track which commanded the fortreſs. He climbed the heights; obſerved the garriſon; and communicated his important diſcovery to the conſul. Four hundred choſen men were commanded to follow the footſteps of the Ligurian; they gained with difficulty the top; a feigned attack on the oppoſite ſide diſtracted the attention of the beſieged: The trumpets ſounded from above; the garriſon, in aſtoniſhment and deſpair, abandoned their arms; and the treaſures of Jugurtha became the reward of the ſucceſsful temerity of Marius.

A deciſive victory could alone retrieve the ſinking fortunes of the king of Numidia. His veteran Africans were ſupported by the freſh ſquadrons of the king of Mauritania: About the hour of the ſetting ſun, the Roman legions were alarmed by the diſcordant ſhouts, and aſſailed by the deſultory attacks of their barbarous and innumerable enemies. Marius was the firſt in arms; he flew to the poſt of danger; chaſtiſed by his perſonal vigour the preſumption of the confederates; and before night ſecured his troops on the friendly

heights of the adjacent mountains. The Numidians had retired to repoſe, to recruit their exhauſted ſtrength, and to renew the combat with the return of light. But their ſlumbers were broken by the ſound of the Roman trumpet; the enemy was already in their camp; and a rapid flight alone ſaved them from deſtruction.

The indefatigable Jugurtha again united his forces; attacked the Romans near the walls of Cirta, and was again compelled to yield to their ſteady valour. Reiterated defeats had ſhaken the reſolution of Bocchus; he ſighed for peace; and to bend him to the wiſhes of the Romans, Marius diſpatched to the court of Mauritania his quæſtor Lucius Cornelius Sylla.

Deſcended from the Cornelian family, Sylla had ſullied in youth the luſtre of his birth by the indulgence of luxury and pleaſure, but had improved his talents in the diligent ſtudy of Grecian and Roman literature. As quæſtor he had joined the conſul in the ſiege of Thapſa; but neither his extraction nor acquiſitions could recommend him to an unlettered ſoldier, who gloried in his plebeian origin. He was expoſed to the reproach of his general, who complained that in ſo rough and deſperate a ſervice, the republic had given him ſo ſoft and delicate a quæſtor. But the courage of Sylla was naturally prompt and ardent; and the

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hopes of fame reconciled him to every toil and hardſhip. His courteous manners ſoon attached to him the affections of the ſoldiers; and his vigour in action effaced the prejudices, and commanded the eſteem of his general.

Eſcorted by a thouſand horſe, Sylla proceeded to the court of Mauritania: In his way he eluded by his dexterity the ſnares, or awed by his firmneſs the hoſtile detachments of Jugurtha, which had been ſtationed to intercept his march. He found Bocchus penſive, embarraſſed, and irreſolute; ſhame forbade him to abandon the Numidian king, fear prompted him to acquieſce in the demands of the Romans. He liſtened to the ſuggeſtions of Jugurtha, to ſeize the perſon of Sylla, and by the poſſeſſion of ſo illuſtrious a captive, extort from the ſenate advantageous conditions of peace: But he adopted the counſels of Sylla, to deliver up Jugurtha, and to purchaſe the friendſhip of the republic, by ſurrendering her moſt inveterate enemy. U. C. 647.

In violating the laws of hoſpitality, Bocchus had recourſe to thoſe practices which are the favourite reſources of weak and little minds. He invited Jugurtha to a conference; but the place choſen for their interview had been inſidiouſly lined by the troops of Mauritania. The guards of the Numidian

dian monarch were surprised and overwhelmed; he himself was ignominiously oppressed by chains; and delivered by the monarch, in whose faith he had confided, to the discretion of Sylla, was safely conducted by the Roman quæstor to the camp of Marius.

Chapter

Chapter the Twenty Fourth.

TRIUMPH OF MARIUS. — FATE OF JUGURTHA. — INVASION OF THE CIMBRI. — THEIR SUCCESSIVE VICTORIES. — APPOINTMENT OF SERVILIUS CÆPIO TO TRANSALPINE GAUL. — HIS IMPRUDENCE AND DEFEAT. — TERROR OF THE ROMANS. — MARIUS IS CHOSEN CONSUL. — PASSES INTO GAUL. — IS CONTINUED IN THE CONSULSHIP. HE VANQUISHES NEAR AQUÆ SEXTIÆ THE TEUTONES AND AMBRONES. — PANIC OF THE ARMY OF CATULUS. — MARIUS JOINS CATULUS. — THEY DEFEAT THE CIMBRI. — TOTAL DESTRUCTION OF THE BARBARIANS. — TRIUMPH OF MARIUS AND CATULUS. — REVOLT OF VETTIUS. — SECOND SERVILE WAR. — CHARACTER AND SUCCESS OF SALVIUS. — OF ATHENIO. — VICTORY OF LUCULLUS. — OPERATIONS OF ATHENIO. — HIS DEFEAT AND DEATH. — DESTRUCTION OF HIS FOLLOWERS. — CONCLUSION OF THE SECOND SERVILE WAR.

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IN the conqueſt of Numidia and the captivity of Jugurtha, Marius had fulfilled his promiſes to the Roman people; the arrangement of the kingdom that he had ſubdued ſtill claimed however his preſence; the treachery of Bocchus was rewarded with part of Numidia; the remnant was reſerved for the heirs of Maſiniſſa; and Marius had ſcarce diſcharged the invidious office, before he was ſummoned to Rome to enjoy the honours of triumph, and to be inveſted again with the conſular dignity.

The triumphal car of the victor was followed by a train of African captives, and enriched by the treaſures of Numidia; but amidſt the proceſſion, every eye was fixed on Jugurtha; and in the debaſement of the regal dignity, the illuſtrious ſlave might have hoped that the vengeance of his maſters would have been ſatiated: But the life of the monarch had only been ſpared to ſwell the pomp of the conqueror; the decree of death had gone forth; from the capitol he was plunged into a dark and damp dungeon, and left to expire of cold and hunger: And though the manner of his death may inſpire us with horror, the murderer

murderer of Hiempſal and Adherbal can have no claim to our compaſſion.

Yet while the Romans indulged in triumphal acclamations, their minds were clouded by anxiety. From the defeat of Papirius Carbo, during four years, the Cimbri had rioted, without oppoſition, in the ſpoils of Tranſalpine Gaul. At the expiration of that term, the conſul Silenus had been appointed with a conſiderable army to check their deſtructive progreſs: He attacked and was over-thrown by the hoſt of the barbarians; his ſucceſſors, Aurelius Scaurus and Caſſius Longinus, in the ſame attempt, were expoſed to the ſame diſgrace; yet it is probable that the loſs of the Romans in theſe repeated engagements was far from conſiderable; and it was not till the conſulate of Servilius Cæpio, that the terror of the Cimbrian name was diffuſed throughout Italy by the total extinction of a Roman army. U. C. 640. 646.

The law of Caius Gracchus, which had tranſferred to the equeſtrian order the excluſive adminiſtration of juſtice, had been in part repealed through the influence of Cæpio; and the title of *Patron of the Senate* proclaimed the gratitude of that aſſembly to Servilius, under whoſe auſpices they had been in ſome meaſure reinſtated in their ancient privileges. The U. C. 647.

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conſul received with tranſport his appointment to the command of the armies in Gaul; and in his firſt advices which announced the recovery of Toloſa, the capital of the Tectoſages, from the Cimbri, the ſenate anticipated the future trophies of their protector. He was continued with the authority of pro-conſul in Gaul; but as the numbers of the barbarians required more ſtrenuous efforts, Cneius Mallius, one of the new conſuls, was alſo ordered to oppoſe the Cimbri, and to defend the Tranſalpine ſettlements of the republic.

The broad and rapid ſtream of the Rhone was fixed upon by Cæpio and Mallius as the boundary of their reſpective provinces. Their union might have enſured their ſucceſs, their jealouſy precipitated their deſtruction: In the firſt operations of Mallius, his lieutenant, Aurelius Scaurus, who as conſul had three years before been oppoſed to the Cimbri, was defeated and taken priſoner by the barbarians; his diſaſter inſpired Mallius with more humble expectations; he ſolicited the aſſiſtance of Cæpio, and that general paſſed the Rhone, not to the ſupport of his colleague, but in the fond preſumption of acquiring the ſole glory of victory, by vanquiſhing the Cimbri without the aid of the conſul.

The obſtinacy of Cæpio yielded at length to the clamours of his ſoldiers, and he reluctantly con-

ſented to enter the camp of Mallius; but if the junction of the Roman commanders at firſt awed the barbarians, their ſpirits were reſtored by the intelligence of their diſſenſions: They offered battle, their challenge was accepted; but the Roman chiefs ruſhed to the encounter without concert and without order. Eighty thouſand Romans atoned with their lives for the temerity of their leaders; and if we may credit the authority of Plutarch, only ten eſcaped to carry the melancholy tidings to Rome; nor had the republic any reaſon to rejoice that Mallius and Cæpio were among the ſcanty relick of the ſurvivors.

Rome received with conſternation the fatal news that eighty thouſand of her braveſt veterans were no more. The fears of a trembling capital magnified the ſtrength, the ſtature, and the barbarity of the victors; and the affrighted citizens liſtened in terror and aſtoniſhment to the deſcription of enemies, whoſe helmets diſplayed the grim heads of ſlaughtered beaſts, whoſe painted ſhields and weighty ſwords were impervious and irreſiſtible, whoſe impenetrable ranks were locked together with chains of iron, and whoſe myriads in the day of battle, formed into a vaſt and ſolid ſquare, preſented on every ſide a cloſe array which occupied above three miles. Nor were they more tremendous in the hour of action than inexorable

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in that of victory; the ſpoil was either committed to the flames, or thrown contemptuouſly into the neareſt river; and the priſoners of every rank and diſtinction were involved in one promiſcuous carnage; nor offers nor entreaties could move to mercy the barbarian, who was indifferent to gold and inſatiate of blood.

U. C. 648. 649. The fears and danger of the republic were the glory of Marius; though the conſul Rutilius was at the head of an army, levied in haſte but diſciplined with diligence, yet the conqueror of Numidia was alone deemed capable of withſtanding the Cimbri; he was recalled from Italy, changed his habit of triumph for that of war, and accompanied by Sylla as his lieutenant, he impatiently purſued his journey to erect new trophies in Gaul.

U. C. 649. 650. The levity of the barbarians, after their victory over Mallius and Caepio, had prompted them to defer the invaſion of Italy for that of Spain; and during two years that they extended their devaſtations over that continent, the terrors of the Romans, and the merits of Marius, are atteſted by his ſucceſſive promotion to the office of conſul.

U. C. 651. It was in the fourth year of his enjoying that dignity, in which was aſſociated Quintus Lutatius Catulus, that the tempeſt which had

had been so long suspended swept Gaul, and burst upon the frontiers of Italy. Repulsed in Spain, the various tribes of barbarians returned to the scene of their former victories. By different routes they directed their tumultuous march towards Italy; near the ancient colony of Aquæ Sextiæ, which, under the name of Aix, forms part of the modern kingdom of France, the Teutones and Ambrones were encountered and defeated with cruel slaughter by Marius. But with inferior forces, and inferior fortune, on the banks of the Adige, Catulus endeavoured to withstand the impetuous torrent of the Cimbri: The hearts of the stoutest legionaries were appalled by their numbers, their discordant clamours, and tremendous aspect; the Roman general in vain attempted to rekindle their courage by his voice and example; the panic was immoderate and universal; and in the timely measure of a retreat, even the haughty spirit of Rome confessed the prudence of Catulus.

The fertile country from the Adige to the Po was blasted by the presence of the Cimbri; Rome trembled; and her safety, with the dignity of consul, was a fifth time entrusted to Marius. With his victorious bands, still stained with the slaughter of the barbarians, he rapidly passed from the foot of the Alps to the banks of the Po, joined the forces of Catulus, and inflamed U. C. 652.

their emulation by the diſplay of his recent trophies. The confederate leaders traverſed the Po in queſt of the ſavage invaders; the Cimbri were awed by their undaunted countenance; and ignorant of the fate of the Teutones, whoſe kindred arms they anxiouſly awaited, they condeſcended to negociate. Their ambaſſadors entered the Roman camp; they demanded lands for themſelves and their brethren. "*What brethren are theſe you ſpeak* "*of?*" exclaimed Marius. --- "*The Teutones.* --- "Spare yourſelves the needleſs trouble," replied the conſul, with an inſulting ſmile, "we have al- "ready provided them with lands, of which they "will retain eternal poſſeſſion: But ſince you claim "their alliance," continued he, "it will not be "kind to diſmiſs you without permitting you to "embrace your kinſmen." The leaders of the Ambrones and Teutones, the captives of his former victories, were produced in chains; and with the menace of immediate vengeance, the barbarian ambaſſadors retired indignantly from the tent of the Roman conſul.

In the fate of their allies the Cimbri might have learnt their own weakneſs, and the ſuperiority of Rome; but the fearleſs ſouls of the warriors of the North were inſenſible to danger, and ardent for revenge. Their monarch, Bogorix, defied the inſulting victors to battle, and offered to their choice

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the time and place. "It is not the cuſtom," ſaid Marius, "of the Romans to take counſel of their "enemies, but your wiſhes for once ſhall be in-"dulged." In the plain of Vercellæ, on the third day, he warned him to expect the Roman charge. Bogorix accepted the promiſe with tranſport; and, faithful to their engagements, the hoſtile armies confronted each other on the day and place appointed.

The level country was favourable to the evolutions of the Roman cavalry, and its ample ſpace afforded ſufficient room for the unwieldy hoſt of three hundred thouſand barbarians; yet in the bloody conflict the tumultuous myriads of the Cimbri were ineffectually oppoſed to the arms and diſcipline of the legions. Of fifty thouſand Romans, the honour of the day was due to twenty thouſand alone; a cloud of duſt had obſcured the ſight of Marius, and in an attempt to turn the rear of the enemy he wandered at a diſtance from the ſcene of action; nor was it until the exertions of Catulus and Sylla had broken the barbarian hoſt, that he, ſwelled by his return the tide of ſlaughter. One hundred and fifty thouſand of the Cimbri periſhed on the field, ſixty thouſand acknowledged in chains the fortune of Rome; the remnant that eſcaped the ſword ſcorned to ſurvive their companions; their deſpair was communicated to their wives and

children; and in a few weeks the fears of the Romans were extinguiſhed in the total deſtruction of the various nations which had emigrated from the north.

In the action of Vercellæ Sylla had fought, but Marius triumphed. On a former occaſion he had diſplayed to the Romans the riches of Africa; but inſtead of carriages loaded with gold and ſilver, they now gazed in ſecurity on the broken ſwords and ſhattered armour of an enemy, whoſe undiſciplined valour had threatened the ſubverſion of the Roman empire. Yet the conſul was juſt to the merits of Catullus; he reſiſted the partiality of the multitude, and imparted to him the triumphal honours; but the public opinion ſtill confined the glory of the Cimbrian victory to Marius, and, in the expreſſive words of Juvenal, the brows of the pro-conſul were adorned with only the ſecond wreath of laurel.

By the defeat of the Cimbri, Italy was delivered from invaſion, but the Roman empire was far from being reſtored to tranquillity. The amorous paſſions of Vettius, a Roman knight, had interrupted the repoſe of the republic: In the diſſolute pleaſures of youth he had exhauſted an ample patrimony, which had been tranſmitted to him by a frugal father; he had purchaſed, at the price of ſeventy talents, a female ſlave whoſe beauty had inflamed

flamed his deſires; the ſlave had been delivered, but the payment of the money had been repeatedly eluded; the injured creditor urged his demands with clamour; and Vettius, incapable of ſatisfying his importunity, embraced the frantic reſolution of confounding his own ruin in that of the republic: He collected a quantity of arms, aſſociated in his enterpriſe ſeven hundred deſperate ſlaves, and aſſumed the purple robe and title of king. The firſt moments were ſacred to revenge, the next to ſafety; he murdered his creditor, and fortified a regular camp; the debtor, the robber, and the homicide eagerly repaired to his ſtandard; his followers were ſwelled to three thouſand five hundred men; and he might boaſt, that in an open engagement he had at leaſt maintained his ground againſt the prætor Lucullus. But a confederacy that had been formed in guilt could ſcarce be cemented by fidelity; the gold of Lucullus had corrupted Apollonius, on whom Vettius had devolved his confidence and authority; the perfidy of his lieutenant extinguiſhed the hopes of the rebel; yet he ſcorned to be expoſed to the deriſion of his country; he fell by his own hand; and on his death his followers either diſperſed, or were ſacrificed to the juſtice of the Romans.

The firſt ſpark of inſurrection had been kindled in Italy, but it was in Sicily that the flame burſt

forth with fearful violence. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, had in the war againſt the Cimbri been ſolicited to join the forces of the republic; his excuſe reproached the lawleſs conduct of the Romans; he alleged that numbers of his ſubjects had been forcibly ſwept away into captivity by the farmers of the public revenue. The juſtice of the accuſation was acknowledged by the ſenate; and the pro-conſuls and prætors throughout the Roman empire were ordered to reſtore freedom to thoſe who had been illegally enſlaved. In Sicily the prætor Licinius Nerva, in a few days, ſtruck off the chains of eight hundred miſerable captives: The rich were alarmed; their preſents or influence ſuſpended the juſtice of the prætor; and the ſlaves determined to aſſert by force thoſe rights which they could no longer expect from the deciſions of a corrupt or intereſted magiſtrate.

On a craggy rock two hundred indignant ſlaves diſplayed the ſtandard of Freedom. They repulſed their oppreſſors; but they were betrayed by their pretended friends. Two thouſand more immediately aroſe in arms; the ſlaughter of a Roman detachment avenged the fate of their brethren; the rumour of ſucceſs augmented their numbers to ſix thouſand; they beſtowed the title of king on Salvius, whoſe pretenſions to divination inſpired his followers with freſh confidence. He formed the ſiege of Morgantia; defeated Licinius,

nius, who had advanced to raiſe it; and under the new name of Tryphon preſſed the attack with redoubled vigour. He was encountered by an hardy race, who were alſo animated by the love of freedom: The inhabitants of Morgantia had promiſed to enfranchiſe their ſlaves if they defended the city againſt the aſſailants; their efforts were ſucceſsful; Tryphon retired; but with his retreat the promiſes of the citizens of Morgantia were forgotten; their brave protectors were defrauded of the juſt recompenſe of their valour; with mingled anger and contempt they broke from the perfidious city, and joined the ſtandard of Tryphon. Strong in the numbers and obedience of his ſubjects, the new monarch fixed his reſidence at Triocola: The ſtrength of the ſituation, the purity of the water, and the fertile fields which were extended below, juſtified his choice; and the lofty palace that he erected might have been prompted by policy, ſince it confirmed the opinion of his adherents that his power was firmly eſtabliſhed.

In a different part of the iſland Athenio, by birth a Cilician, by condition a ſlave, had aſſembled ten thouſand of the partners of his miſery, aſſumed the royal title, aſſerted his claim to divine inſpiration, and inveſted Lilybæum. He was compelled to raiſe the ſiege with conſiderable loſs; but the diſgrace was compenſated by the

eſtabliſhment of his prophetic character; and the misfortune which he had prediſted from the impatience or unſkilfulneſs of his followers, were conſidered as a ſufficient proof of his correſpondence with the heavens.

U. C. 650, 651. Athenio had been ſummoned by Tryphon to acknowledge his ſuperior authority; the magnanimous ſlave ſcorned to weaken the common cauſe by perſonal conteſts for power. He repaired to Triocola; and was, by the jealouſy of his rival, plunged into a dark dungeon. Thence he was releaſed on the approach of the prætor Lucullus; and marched with Tryphon, at the head of forty thouſand men, to encounter the Roman legions. In the bloody conflict Athenio repreſſed his reſentment, and diſplayed his valour. But his followers were broken and diſperſed; he himſelf was dangerouſly wounded; and under the cover of the night joined with difficulty his fugitive brethren: Yet the victory of Lucullus appears to have been attended with no permanent advantage; and we read with ſurpriſe ſoon after of the *natural* death of Tryphon, and that the devaſtations of Athenio were again ſucceſsfully extended over Sicily.

U. C. 652, 653. But the term of his proſperity approached, and in the fifth conſulſhip of Marius, his colleague Aquilius was appointed to the

the command of the Roman legions in Sicily: By a variety of artful diſpoſitions, he ſtraitened the quarters and intercepted the detachments of the rebels; in the enſuing year a regular and deciſive engagement terminated the reign and life of Athenio; he himſelf fell on the field, gallantly fighting to the laſt: His followers ſhared his fate, or were maſſacred by the fury of the victors; and the account which fixes at *a million* the number of the ſlaves deſtroyed in the two *Servile Wars*, impeaches the veracity, or eſtabliſhes the inhumanity of the Romans.

Chapter the Twenty-fifth.

SIXTH CONSULSHIP OF MARIUS. — CONFEDERACY WITH SATURNINUS AND GLAUCIA. — COMMOTION AT ROME. — ARTIFICE OF MARIUS. — BANISHMENT OF METELLUS. — VIOLENCE OF SATURNINUS. — HE SEIZES THE CAPITOL. — IS REDUCED TO SURRENDER. — IS PUT TO DEATH WITH HIS ASSOCIATES BY THE PEOPLE. — RECALL OF METELLUS. — MARIUS VISITS ASIA. — CHARACTER OF MITHRIDATES. — SEIZES CAPPADOCIA. — SYLLA IS CHOSEN PRÆTOR. — IS COMMISSIONED TO RESTORE ARIARATHES TO THE THRONE OF CAPPADOCIA. — RECEIVES AN EMBASSY FROM THE PARTHIANS. — NEW DISTURBANCES AT ROME. — CONDUCT OF LIVIUS DRUSUS. — HIS DEATH. — CONFEDERACY OF THE ITALIAN ALLIES. — DEMAND THE FREEDOM OF ROME. — REFUSAL OF THE SENATE. — SOCIAL WAR. — DEFEAT OF RUTILIUS. — INACTIVITY OF MARIUS. — EXPLOITS OF SYLLA. — POLICY OF ROME. — CONCLUSION OF THE SOCIAL WAR. — OBSERVA-

OBSERVATIONS ON EXTENDING THE FREEDOM OF ROME TO ITALY.

WHILE the republic was menaced u. c. 653.
by foreign invaſion, the military talents of Marius had ſupported his pretenſions to the higheſt dignities of the ſtate; the unprecedented honours of five conſulſhips, and four of them ſucceſſive, might have ſatisfied the ambition of the peaſant of Arpinum; and in a private ſtation he might have waited until the danger of his country had again ſummoned him to command. But he had been too long accuſtomed to power to relinquiſh it without reluctance; he ſolicited, a ſixth time, the voices of his fellow-citizens for the ſupreme magiſtracy; the people pauſed, yet conſented; and Valerius Flaccus was joined with him in the exerciſe of the conſular authority.

The former conſulſhips of Marius had been paſſed in the camp inſtead of the capital; and he ſoon perceived that different talents were required for the adminiſtration of an empire than for the command of an army. In the hour of tranquillity the ſtern virtues of a fierce unlettered ſoldier were little reſpected; and the conſul, in the murmurs or ſilence of the people, was inſtructed how little

little he could truſt for his future popularity to the luſtre of his former victories. The reſtleſs and factious diſpoſition of the tribune Apuleius Saturninus offered to his wiſhes a proper inſtrument of domeſtic diſſenſion; and their confederacy was ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of the prætor Glaucia; a man inſolent in proſperity, ſervile in adverſity; and who had ſacrificed his private enmity to Saturninus, to ſhare the counſels and partake the harveſt of the popular leaders.

In their various ſtipulations for their mutual advantage, Marius had engaged, againſt the laws of his country, to ſupport the pretenſions of Saturninus, a ſecond time, to the office of tribune; and his re-election was oppoſed with equal vigour by the ſenate and nobles. Nine of the candidates were already declared to be choſen in preference to him; and the influence of the ariſtocratic party had even prevailed on the people to fill the tenth place with Nonius Sufenas; when the ſatellites of Saturninus, enraged at their diſappointment, ſpread terror and confuſion through the capital; Nonius had in vain ſought an aſylum from their fury in a neighbouring houſe; the doors were forced by a crowd of ſoldiers attached to Marius, and accuſtomed under his command to rapine and bloodſhed; the tribune was dragged forth; the ſacred character with which he was inveſted was

deſpiſed

deſpiſed by his lawleſs aſſailants; his death was inſtant; and by his fate the citizens of Rome were taught how dangerous it was to oppoſe the deſigns, or provoke the reſentment, of Marius or Saturninus.

Early on the morning that ſucceeded the murder of Nonius, the prætor Glaucia, with a numerous train of adherents, armed with daggers, poſſeſſed themſelves of the capitol and Forum; violated the freedom, and preſerved the forms of election; and announced Saturninus as tribune of the people. The imperious demagogue was hailed by the worthleſs and the indigent; by all thoſe who hoped to hide their infamy or retrieve their fortunes in the commotions of the republic; and his perſon was protected, and his edicts enforced, by a daring crowd of retainers, who were drawn from the dregs of a luxurious capital; and whom, in defiance of the laws, Marius had enrolled in the legions, when firſt he embarked for Africa to conduct the war againſt Jugurtha.

To ſatisfy his hungry followers, Saturninus propoſed that thoſe lands on the Po which had been deſolated by the late irruptions of the barbarians, ſhould be ſeized in the name of the public, and diſtributed by lots to the poorer citizens; that in the province of Africa the veterans ſhould be rewarded with an hundred acres each; that new ſet-

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tlements ſhould be made in Greece, Macedonia, and Sicily; that wherever theſe colonies ſhould be planted, Marius ſhould be aſſigned a power of inſcribing, at every ſettlement, the names of three aliens among the citizens; and that the money hitherto paid for corn at the public granaries ſhould be reſtored; and that it ſhould hereafter be diſtributed gratis.

The fatal tendency of the laſt motion was diſplayed in the ſenate by the queſtor, Quintus Servilius Cæpio; who repreſented, that if ſuch an order ſhould paſs, neither induſtry, order, nor civil government could ſurvive its baneful effects; and that the treaſury of Rome muſt be inadequate to ſupply the frantic liberality of the tribune. His vigorous oppoſition rouſed the ſenate from the ſtupor of fear or indifference; and they decreed, that whoever propoſed a law of that nature ſhould be deemed an enemy to his country. Saturninus deſpiſed the impotent menaces of the ſenate, and had already aſſembled the people to confirm his project; when Cæpio, with a band of faithful attendants, broke the rails, overſet the urns, and diſperſed the multitude: His vigour expoſed him to a ſubſequent impeachment; he was driven into baniſhment; but in exile he might boaſt that he had at leaſt ſuſpended, by his firmneſs, the immediate ruin of his country.

The

The reſiſtance that Saturninus had experienced ſerved only to impel him to more deciſive meaſures: A variety of new regulations were rapidly brought forward; by the moſt important, it was declared treaſon for any one to interrupt a tribune in putting a queſtion to the people; the acts of the tribes were to be conſidered as laws; and every ſenator was required, under pain of expulſion, to ſwear to confirm theſe acts within five days after they had been ſanctioned by the approbation of the people.

In the conduct of the Jugurthine war, the arts of Marius had undermined the authority of Metellus: The magnanimity of the latter might have forgotten or forgiven the injury; but the mind of the former was ſtill inflamed with a deadly hatred towards him whom he had injured. When the daring projects of Saturninus threatened to overwhelm the power of the ſenate, Marius had propoſed in that aſſembly to reject unanimouſly the oath demanded; the majority of the ſenators applauded his ſentiments; and Metellus declared his reſolution never to ſubmit to the degrading engagement.

But Marius was no ſooner aſſured of the firmneſs of Metellus than he changed the language he had ſo lately held; when the moment of trial approached he repreſented the dangerous ſtate

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of the commonwealth, the weakneſs of the nobles, and the intemperate fury of the multitude, which, ſhould they be irritated by any further oppoſition, might precipitate them into acts of the moſt fatal outrage. Amidſt the acclamations of Saturninus and his adherents, he demanded and received the oath; and while he ſubſcribed the ſolemn engagement, violated for ever the ſanctity of his faith. The aſtoniſhed and trembling ſenate followed his example; bold in conſcious virtue, Metellus alone refuſed to retract from his former declaration; and while he rejected the importunities of his friends, who repreſented the danger to which he was expoſed, "To act ill in any circumſtances," ſaid he, "is the effect of a corrupt heart; to act "well when there is nothing to fear is the merit "of a common man; but to act well, when a man "expoſes himſelf to the greateſt hazards, is pe-"culiar to the truly virtuous."

His own exploits and the atchievements of his anceſtors, ought to have rendered ſacred the perſon of Metellus, and commanded the gratitude and veneration of the Romans. But the voice of Saturninus was loud and imperious, the diſpoſition of the multitude inſolent and ſeditious; the illuſtrious ſenator, who had enjoyed the honours of the conſulſhip, and reſtored by his victories in Numidia the aſcendancy of the Roman arms, was dragged from

from his ſeat like the vileſt of criminals by the licentious rabble, and expoſed to the indignity of a public impeachment. The moſt virtuous of the ſenate ſtill offered to ſhare his fortunes, and protect his integrity by force; but he generouſly declined to increaſe the confuſion of the commonwealth by aſſerting his innocence. "If the times "ſhould mend," ſaid he, "I ſhall recover my ſta-"tion; if not, it is an happineſs to be abſent from "Rome." "The ſafety of his country," ſays Cicero, "was dearer to him than the ſight of it; "and he choſe rather to depart from the city than "from his opinion."

The ambition of Marius had opened a paſſage to the torrent of ſedition; and he himſelf was aſtoniſhed at the rapidity of its progreſs. Saturninus aſpired a third time to the tribuneſhip; and Glaucia, diſdaining the laws which interpoſed two years between the office of prætor and of conſul, ſolicited the conſulſhip: The former had joined in his pretenſions Equitius, an obſcure plebeian, but who had aſſumed with the name the popular character of the ſon of Tiberius Gracchus. The impoſtor was led to priſon by the order of Marius; but the multitude burſt the doors, reſcued him from confinement, and proclaimed Saturninus and Graechus tribunes of the people.

The election for conſuls was conducted with ſtill

more fatal violence; the ſuperior abilities of Marcus Antonius, whoſe eloquence commanded the admiration and kindled the emulation of Cicero, united in his favour the ſuffrages of the citizens of Rome. But the conteſt between Glaucia and Caius Memmius was long and doubtful. The influence of the nobles began at length to prevail; and Glaucia, apprehenſive of defeat, gave the ſignal to his faction to aſſaſſinate his rival. In a full aſſembly of the people, and in the midſt of the Forum, the unfortunate Memmius was maſſacred; and amidſt the acclamations of a bloody and lawleſs rabble, Saturninus and his aſſociates calmly retired to conſult what new victims they ſhould ſacrifice to their ambition or reſentment.

In mournful conſternation, the ſenate debated by what meaſures they could preſerve the commonwealth; a rumour already prevailed, that the confederates of Saturninus had ſaluted him with the title of king; and the potent decree was iſſued, *for the conſuls to provide for the ſafety of the republic.* Saturninus and his aſſociates had already ſeized the capitol; while Antonius, the conſul elect, occupied the ſuburbs, Marius at the head of the ſenators, the knights, and more opulent citizens, marched to reduce the inſurgents. The capitol was inveſted in form; and the beſieged, after a reſiſtance of ſome days, were compelled to ſurrender. Ma-

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rius had promiſed to ſpare their lives; but the engagement was violated by the capricious enmity of the populace; and Saturninus, Glaucia, and Equitius were maſſacred by thoſe whoſe favour had firſt inflamed their ambition, and prompted them to aſpire to the ſovereignty of their country.

In the ſupport of Saturninus, Marius had confirmed the hatred of the nobles; in cruſhing the rebellion of that turbulent tribune he had alienated the affections of the commons: The recall of Metellus from baniſhment was a ſevere mortification; and in a progreſs through Aſia, Marius endeavoured to conceal his diſcontent from the eyes of his fellow-citizens. In the court of the king of Pontus, his reſtleſs ſpirit projected new wars, and aſpired to render his renown in arms again neceſſary to his country; but Mithridates received him with attention, and diſmiſſed him with royal preſents; and ſenſible of his own inability to contend with the power of Rome, avoided with dexterity the captious repreſentations of his formidable gueſt. U. C. 654, 655.

For four years the Roman annals preſent to the reader little more than a barren repetition of the names of the ſucceſſive conſuls. A deſultory and obſcure war that was waged againſt the turbulent natives of Spain, and ſome petty victories over the barbarians of the U. C. 656, 660.

Alps, could ſcarce interrupt the tranquillity of the republic; and ſhe ſeems to have repoſed in ſecurity under the ſhade of her laurels, when her attention was awakened by the progreſs and preparations of the king of Pontus.

"Either render yourſelf more powerful than "the Romans, or ſubmit with reſignation to their "commands," was the arrogant admonition of Marius, when in the court of Pontus he ſhared the hoſpitality, and inſulted the dignity of that monarch. The expreſſion was deeply imprinted in the mind of Mithridates; and from that moment he anxiouſly revolved the deſign of aſſerting his own independence, and repreſſing the ambition of the Romans.

At the early age of twelve years the ſceptre of Pontus, by the death of his father, had paſſed to the hand of Mithridates; the hopes of the nobility had been kindled by the minority of an inexperienced youth; but amidſt contending factions Mithridates ſteered the veſſel of the ſtate with a ſteady and dexterous hand. The frequent uſe of antidotes was ſuppoſed to have rendered his conſtitution proof againſt poiſon; his fears of aſſaſſination had indueed him continually to change his place of repoſe; and, if we may believe Juſtin, for ſeven years he never ſlept in any houſe, but ſnatched a tranſient reſt in the open air amidſt woods or

mountains. In this ſtate of anxious vigilance his mind was trained to artifice, and his body hardened againſt heat and cold; but no ſooner was the monarch firmly eſtabliſhed on his throne than he removed the objects of his terrors by the deſtruction of his mother, his brother, and the moſt powerful of his nobles.

If the ſubjects of Mithridates deteſted the cruelty, they could not but admire the vigour of their ſovereign. He ſubdued all Colchis and part of Scythia; he compelled the Baſtarnæ, the Thracians, the Sarmatians, and the barbarous tribes who inhabited the banks of the Tanais and the mouth of the Danube, under the name of allies, to acknowledge his ſuperior power; and in the firſt ſucceſs of his arms might well aſpire to the entire dominion of Aſia.

The neighbouring kingdom of Cappadocia, allured by its wealth and ſituation his inſatiate ambition; he expelled Ariarathes from the throne of Cappadocia and filled it with his own ſon, on whom he had beſtowed the ſame name. But the daring invaſion had attracted the attention of the Roman ſenate, and it was determined to reſtore Ariarathes to the kingdom of his anceſtors.

From the final defeat of the Cimbri, A. C. 660, 661. the prudence or indolence of Sylla had inclined him to a life of privacy; he ſuddenly

emerged from his retreat; without deſcending to the cuſtomary gradation of edile, propoſed himſelf as candidate for the prætorſhip; and though repulſed at firſt, he engaged by his profuſion and magnificence the affections of the people, was choſen prætor the enſuing year, and was commiſſioned by the ſenate, on the expiration of his office, to replace Ariarathes on the throne of Cappadocia, and to penetrate the intentions of Mithridates.

The king of Pontus yielded to the weighty mediation of Sylla, who placed again the ſceptre of Cappadocia in the hand of Ariarathes, received on the banks of the Euphrates the ambaſſadors of the Parthians, and returned to Rome to ſuſtain by his arms and counſels the tottering fortunes of the republic.

U. C. 662. At the inſtigation of the Roman ſenate the tribune Livius Druſus had courted the multitude, and profeſſed himſelf the rival of Caius Gracchus; but thoſe qualities which at firſt were fictitious, ſoon became real; and having taſted of popularity he became intoxicated with the pleaſing draught. The ſenate beheld with aſtoniſhment a ſecret friend converted into an open enemy; and ſome idea may be formed of the profuſion of the tribune from his own exclamation: "I will

"I will leave nothing for a future tribune to be-
"ſtow but the air and the earth."

To the allies of Italy, in imitation of Caius Gracchus, Livius had propoſed to impart the honours and privileges of the Roman name; but the project was oppoſed by the ſenate and the people; the pride of the former and the intereſt of the latter, ſuſpended their ancient jealouſies, and prompted their tranſient union; and Druſus, as he retired from the aſſembly of the people, received from an unknown hand a wound which terminated his life.

The hopes of the Italian allies had been repeatedly raiſed, and as repeatedly diſappointed; their patience was exhauſted, and what they could no longer expect from the favour, they endeavoured to extort from the fears of Rome. A formidable and extenſive confederacy was formed in ſecrecy, and cemented by the moſt ſolemn oaths. Corfinium was the ſeat of their deliberations; the Marſi, Peligni, Veſtini, Marcini, Picentes, Ferentanæ, Hirpini, Pompeiani, Venuſini, Apuli, Lucani, and Samnites ſuddenly roſe in arms, and demanded by their ambaſſadors an equal ſhare in the honours and privileges of the citizens of Rome: Their language was firm, their forces numerous; yet their pretenſions were reſiſted, and the republic preferred the chance of war to an ignominious conceſſion.

The Romans in an inſtant beheld themſelves reduced to little more than the extent of their walls, and aſſailed by enemies more numerous and more united than any which had yet menaced the power of the republic. But if their dominion was extinguiſhed, their ſpirit was unbroken; from the firſt cenſus under Servius Tullus to the commencement of the *Social War*, the citizens of Rome had been multiplied from eighty-three thouſand to four hundred and ſixty-three thouſand men able to bear arms in the ſervice of their country. All on this occaſion aſſumed the *ſagum*, or military dreſs; and conſiderable bands of mercenaries from Gaul and Numidia were allured by the gold to defend the inſulted ſovereignty of the capital.

U. C. 663. Had the fate of Italy been ſtaked on a great and deciſive engagement, the mind of the reader would have been fixed in ſolemn attention on the event; but a war, wide, various, and intricate in itſelf, has been darkly recorded by the Roman hiſtorians; and ſcarce more is to be diſcerned in their perplexed narratives than the names of the different commanders: The conſuls Lucius Julius Cæſar and Publius Rutilius were aſſiſted by the moſt eminent Roman generals; with the former was Sylla, with the latter Marius; yet Rutilius was encompaſſed, defeated, and ſlain with eight thouſand legionaries, by the Marſi. His death devolved

volved the command of the army on Marius; but age ſeemed to have chilled the ardour of the conqueror of Numidia. If we may rely on the authority of Plutarch, he was ſlow, inactive, and irreſolute; he fortified his camp, ſubmitted to the inſults of the enemy, and ſoon after, under pretence of indiſpoſition, retired to Rome.

Far different was the conduct of Syl- U. C. 663, 664.
la; he beheld at length the road to fame open to his aſpiring hopes, and he ſeized and improved the opportunity with matchleſs vigour and addreſs. In ſucceſſive engagements he routed the Picentes and Hirpini, broke the force of the Samnites, reduced the cities of Æculanum and Bovianum, and razed to the ground the ſtrong town of Stabiæ.

Yet the Italians were rather allured than compelled to ſubmiſſion, and the policy of Rome divided thoſe enemies which ſhe was unable to ſubdue. The Latins, who had continued ſteady in their allegiance, were, in conſideration of their fidelity, aſſociated to all the privileges of Roman citizens; the diſtinction was next imparted to the Umbrians and Tuſcans, who had been the laſt to revolt; the reſt of the Italian ſtates, as they ſucceſſively returned to their duty, were admitted into the boſom of the republic; but the Samnites and Lucanians, whoſe reſiſtance had been moſt obſtinate,

ſtinate, paid the penalty of their raſhneſs; and both parties had reaſon to repent the fatal conteſt, ſince, according to Velleius Paterculus, three hundred thouſand Romans and Italians periſhed in the ſhort but ſanguinary period of the Social War.

It was not alone the loſs of her citizens that Rome regretted; and it is obſerved by the ingenious author of the Spirit of Laws, that the rights of the city imparted to the Italian allies, though conſidered at firſt as the foundation of a perpetual peace, was one of the cauſes that precipitated the ruin of the ſtate: "The enormous bulk to which "the capital was ſwelled by it, gave birth to many "new diſorders that gradually corrupted, and at "laſt deſtroyed it; and the diſcipline of laws cal-"culated for a people whom the ſame walls would "contain, was too weak to keep in order the vaſt "body of Italy. So that from this time chiefly "all affairs were decided by faction and violence, "and by the influence of the great, who could "bring whole towns into the Forum from the re-"mote parts of Italy, or pour in a number of "ſlaves and foreigners under the form of citizens; "for when the names and perſons of real citizens "could no longer be diſtinguiſhed, it was not poſ-"ſible to know whether any act had paſſed regu-"larly by the genuine ſuffrage of the Roman "people."

Chapter

Chapter the Twenty-sixth.

PROGRESS OF MITHRIDATES. — SYLLA IS APPOINTED TO COMMAND AGAINST HIM. — JEALOUSY OF MARIUS. — INTRIGUES OF THE TRIBUNE SULPICIUS. — COMMOTIONS AT ROME. — SYLLA ADVANCES WITH AN ARMY AGAINST THE CAPITAL; — EXPELS AND BANISHES MARIUS; — PROCEEDS TO THE WAR AGAINST MITHRIDATES. — CONDUCT OF CINNA; — HE IS OPPOSED BY OCTAVIUS. — BLOODY TUMULT AT ROME. — CINNA IS DEGRADED; — IS SUPPORTED BY THE ARMY AT CAPUA; — RECALLS MARIUS. — ADVENTURES OF MARIUS; — HE IS JOINED BY HIS SON IN AFRICA; — HE LANDS IN ITALY; — ASSEMBLES AN ARMY; — REFUSES THE TITLE OF PRO-CONSUL; — STORMS OSTIA; — INVESTS ROME IN CONJUNCTION WITH CINNA AND SERTORIUS. — DESPAIR OF THE SENATE; — THEY SEND COMMISSIONERS TO TREAT WITH CINNA, WHO IS REINSTATED IN THE OFFICE

FICE OF CONSUL. — BANISHMENT OF MARIUS REPEALED; — HIS CRUELTY; — HE SEIZES THE CONSULSHIP; — HIS TERRORS AND DEATH.

U. C. 665. THE revolt of the ſtates of Italy had revived the hopes of Mithridates: He again expelled Ariarathes from Cappadocia; excited Chreſtus to uſurp the throne of his brother Nicomedes, king of Bithynia; and extended his negociations to the Italian allies who had ſolicited his aſſiſtance. The reſtoration of Ariarathes and Nicomedes was again atchieved by the arms of the republic; open war was declared againſt Mithridates; and three ſeparate armies, each of forty thouſand men, were led by Lucius Caſſius, Manius Aquilius, and Quintus Oppius.

The forces of Mithridates were worthy of the conteſt in which he had engaged; two hundred and fifty thouſand infantry, forty thouſand cavalry, one hundred and thirty armed chariots, and four hundred ſhips of war, might well inſpire him with the moſt ſanguine expectations of ſucceſs. His firſt operations were conducted with vigour and alacrity: He overthrew the king of Bithynia in a deciſive engagement; diſperſed the Roman fleet; traverſed

traverſed the river Sangar in purſuit of Aquilius, who ſought ſhelter in Pergamus; inveſted Caſſius in Apamea; and compelled the inhabitants of Laodicea to deliver up Quintus Oppius. His numerous detachments over-ran Phrygia, Myſia, Lycia, and Pamphylia; and of the towns and iſlands of Aſia Minor, Rhodes alone braved his reſentment, and checked his progreſs: The people of Mitylene purchaſed their pardon by ſurrendering to him Manius Aquilius; the unfortunate captive, mounted on an aſs, was led in triumph by the victor through the proſtrate cities of Aſia. The king of Pontus had imputed to the avarice of Manius the hoſtile meaſures of the Romans; and when his pride was ſatiated by the inſulting ſpectacle, his enmity ſtill ſurvived; and a quantity of liquid gold poured down the throat of the priſoner, which terminated his life, might reproach the rapacity of Aquilius, but atteſts the cruelty of Mithridates.

The Romans heard with indignation the fate of Aquilius, the diſtreſs of their allies, and the victories of Mithridates; as ſoon as they could breathe from the Social War, they prepared to retrieve the honour of their arms; and in the room of the unwarlike troops of Aſia, which probably had ſerved in the firſt expedition, a ſecond army was compoſed of the flower of the legions and of the martial youth of Italy. The recent ſervices of Sylla had promoted

moted him to the dignity of the conſulſhip; and either chance or favour aſſigned to his valour and addreſs the chaſtiſement of the king of Pontus and the preſervation of Aſia.

But the appointment of Sylla revived or inflamed the jealouſy of Marius; amidſt age and infirmities the reſtleſs veteran was ſtill tormented with an inſatiate thirſt of power and glory. His ambition was ſtimulated by his avarice; in the court of Pontus he had admired the riches and taſted of the bounty of Mithridates; and he beheld with impatience the golden harveſt transferred to a rival whom he feared and hated.

Publius Sulpicius, a tribune of the people, had in the purſuit of political honours propoſed to himſelf the example of Saturninus; he praiſed the boldneſs, but blamed the tardineſs of his predeceſſor; and imputed his want of ſucceſs to his want of vigour. The patron of Saturninius became naturally the patron of Servilius; and the tribune, daring and eloquent, rich and popular, engaged to ſecond, and might well hope to perfect the deſigns of Marius.

The perſon of Sulpicius was guarded by three thouſand daring dependents, and his influence was proclaimed by the preſence of ſix hundred knights, who, regardleſs of their dignity, followed in the train of the tribune. At the head of his needy

and

and desperate satellites, he insulted the senate, awed the people, and governed at his discretion the capital. In the midst of the Forum the privileges of Rome were publicly and scandalously exposed to sale; and the names of fugitive slaves and vagrant aliens, whose presents swelled the coffers of Sulpicius, were inscribed on the rolls of the citizens at the imperious mandate of the demagogue; he recalled from exile all those who for former seditions had been driven from Rome; and excited them to avenge on the senate the miseries they had endured in banishment.

The most respectable citizens and magistrates had in vain endeavoured to resist the presumption of Sulpicius; they were over-powered by violence, and frequently driven from the Forum. Destitute of force, they had recourse to superstition, and by multiplying the holy days, during which it was not lawful to assemble the people, they hoped at least to suspend the baneful projects of their insolent and furious adversary. The artifice could not deceive, it provoked the immediate rage of the tribune: He sternly commanded the consuls to recal the obnoxious proclamation; on their refusal he ordered both Pompey and Sylla to be dragged from their seats, and thrown into prison. In the tumult that ensued, the younger Pompey, the son of the consul, was massacred; his

his father was degraded by the tumultuous voices of the crowd from the conſular dignity; and Sylla with difficulty eſcaped the bloody diligence of his enemies; the tempeſt was huſhed for a moment by his acquieſcence with the clamours of the people and the mandates of Sulpicius; and no ſooner had he purchaſed his freedom by the mortifying conceſſion, than he determined to abandon the licentious city, and ſeek in the camp that ſecurity which he could no longer hope for in the capital.

On the retreat of Sylla, the private conditions which had prompted the confederacy of Sulpicius and Marius were revealed by the motion of the former, that the conduct of the war in Aſia ſhould be transferred to the latter; and from the fears of the ſenate the tribune extorted a ready conſent to the injurious propoſal.

Though the ſtrength of the Italian allies was broken, the flames of war were not yet extinguiſhed; and the troops which had been deſtined to march againſt Mithridates was ſtill employed in the ſiege of Nola. Beneath the walls of that city Sylla aſſumed the command of ſix veteran legions, who had conquered under his auſpices, and expected from his liberality the recompenſe of their ſervices. He was ſoon followed by the officers of the republic, who diſcloſed the new appointment of Marius,

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and demanded in his name the charge of the army. But the ſoldiers dreaded the ſeverity of that haughty chief; they reſpected the fortune, and they were allured by the promiſes of Sylla; the meſſengers of Marius were inſulted and maſſacred; and the vengeance which was inflicted at Rome for their deaths, on the friends and relations of Sylla, was the ſignal of immediate hoſtilities between the rival leaders.

It was alone by vigour that Sylla could hope to confound the deſigns of his enemies: He propoſed to his ſoldiers to march to Rome; and their tumultuous acclamations proclaimed their confidence in their general, and their reſentment of the injuries that had been offered to him. With a firm and ſteady courſe the conſul advanced from the walls of Nola to thoſe of the capital. On his march he received a deputation from the ſenate; he liſtened to their entreaties with apparent reſpect; promiſed to ſuſpend his hoſtile enterpriſes; marked out the ſpot for his camp; but commanded a choſen detachment to follow the ſteps of the ambaſſadors, to ſeize the neareſt gate of Rome, and to occupy the important ſtation of the Aquiline hill.

His orders were executed with ſecrecy and celerity; and the vanguard of Sylla was ſoon ſupported by the ſtrength of the legions and the

preſence of their leader. From the capitol Marius endeavoured to revive the ſpirits of a diſheartened and deſponding faction: He ſummoned to his ſtandard his own adherents and thoſe of Sulpicius, proclaimed freedom to the ſlaves, and indemnity to the debtors. But an undiſciplined crowd were incapable of reſiſting the veterans who had triumphed over the martial youth of Italy. The firſt torch was applied by the hand of Sylla himſelf; the flames were rapidly communicated to the houſes and temples: Marius confeſſed himſelf that reſiſtance was in vain; his followers were diſperſed; and Rome acknowledged and trembled at the voice of her new maſter.

In the fierce tumults of contending factions, though the ſtreets of Rome had been frequently polluted with blood, her dignity had never been profaned by the introduction of an armed and foreign force: It was reſerved for Sylla to ſanction by his example the fatal expedient, and to extinguiſh whatever veneration the parent city might ſtill inſpire. While the ſoldiers ſatiated their luſt and rapacity amidſt the confuſion of an affrighted capital, their leader aſſembled the ſenate, repreſented his own injuries, and thoſe of the republic, the preſumption of Sulpicius, the lawleſs paſſions of Marius, and the neceſſity of deterring by whole-

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ſome rigour the commiſſion of ſimilar crimes. He propoſed that Marius and his ſon, Sulpicius, Cethegus, Brutus, Sertorius, and ſix more of the chiefs of the Marian faction, ſhould be declared enemies of their country; and that the ſentence ſhould be accompanied by a public injunction to ſeize or kill them wherever they could be found. The ſenate were ſoon convinced by the powerful arguments of a conſul, who had ſurrounded the ſeat of their deliberations with numerous bands of armed mercenaries. Quintus Mucius Scævola refuſed alone to proſtitute his own ſentiments to gratify the reſentments of Sylla. "Although," he boldly exclaimed, "you menace me with death, "and may deliver me up to thoſe ſoldiers whoſe "clamours invade the dignity of this aſſembly, "yet you never ſhall compel me to pronounce "Marius, who protected Rome from the Cimbri, "an enemy of his country". The reluctance of Scævola was uſeleſs to his friends, though honourable to himſelf; and the moderation of Sylla muſt be applauded, who was content to threaten, and forbore to puniſh.

In the marſhes on the coaſt of Laurentum, the tribune Sulpicius had endeavoured to elude the diligence of his enemies; he was diſcovered, ſlain; and his head expoſed from the roſtrum, whence

he had ſo frequently inflamed by his eloquence the paſſions of the giddy multitude.

U. C. 666. The flight of Marius had been more rapid or more fortunate; and Sylla having gratified his revenge by the proſcription of his rival, proceeded to provide for the future tranquillity of the capital, by annulling the acts of Sulpicius, and by obtaining a decree which regulated the votes of the people by centuries inſtead of tribes. The election for the enſuing year was too important to the ſupport of his party to be neglected or poſtponed: The republic in the choice of Cneius Octavius might, from his prudence, his experience, and the mildneſs of his diſpoſition, hope at leaſt a ſhort reſpite from diſcord and commotion; but the proſpect was clouded by the appointment of Lucius Cornelius Cinna as his colleague; a man bold in action, unreſtrained by principle; who, though of patrician extraction, courted the favour of the commons; and who, in the purſuit of power, dared to perform what a virtuous citizen would have bluſhed to have meditated.

When the influence of Sylla transferred the conſular faſces to Cinna, he had exacted from the latter a ſolemn oath, that during his abſence he would attempt nothing injurious to his intereſts or to the tranquillity of the republic. But the paſſions

paſſions of revenge and ambition are ſeldom to be reſtrained by the moſt ſacred obligations; and Cinna was ſcarce eſtabliſhed in his authority before his intrigues were directed againſt him to whom he was indebted for it. He excited the tribune Virgilius to impeach Sylla; but the pro-conſul heard with indifference the impotent invectives of his accuſer; he pleaded the law of Memmius, by which perſons appointed to military command might decline anſwering any charge when proceeding on the public ſervice; and impatient to check the victorious career of Mithridates, whoſe arms already had invaded the repoſe of Europe, he quitted Rome, and rapidly preſſed forwards to reſtore the obedience of Athens.

The retreat of Sylla was the ſignal for immediate action to Cinna. It had been propoſed by Marius that the Italians, to whom the privileges of the Roman name had been extended, inſtead of being confined to certain tribes, ſhould be diffuſed through the whole: By this important change the new members of the commonwealth would have become maſters of its deliberations. The ſenate had indeed yielded to the menaces of Sulpicius, but the acts of that factious tribune had been extinguiſhed with his life; the edicts which had paſſed under his influence had been annulled,

and the new citizens had again been reſtrained within their former limits.

The propoſal was revived by Cinna, and oppoſed by Octavius; and the former, to allure the adherents of Marius to his intereſts, moved to recall the exiled chief, and reſtore him to his wonted honours. From the remoteſt cities of Italy the new citizens were ſummoned to ſupport their own cauſe and that of their protector; the Forum was filled with an armed multitude, who menaced the ſenate, and drove the tribunes who had reſiſted their deſires from the tumultuous aſſembly. It was at this moment, when Cinna exulted in the ſucceſs of his enterprize, that he was ſuddenly attacked by his colleague, who in the defence of the laws had collected the ancient citizens, and marched at their head to aſſert the authority of the ſenate, and protect the ſacred character of the tribunes. The conflict was long and bloody; victory at length declared for Octavius; Cinna himſelf eſcaped with difficulty with his life; and ſome idea may be formed of the wretched ſtate of the capital, ſince in this tumult alone ten thouſand of her citizens are reported to have periſhed.

Though baffled in his firſt attempt, Cinna was far from relinquiſhing his factious projects: He invited the ſlaves by the promiſe of freedom to

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riſe in arms; he traverſed Italy, and exhorted the cities to aſſert their equal rights, and ſupport their pretenſions by force; the leaders of the Marian party abandoned their retreats, and were admitted to his counſels; his numbers increaſed; his confidence was reſtored; and the ſenate, alarmed by the conſideration of their own and the public danger, paſſed a decree which, for having deſerted the republic, and endeavoured to arm her ſlaves againſt her, depoſed him from the rights of a citizen, and from the dignity of conſul; and raiſed in his place to the vacant office Lucius Cornelius Merula, who already was inveſted with the ſacred character of *Flamen Dialis*.

The decree of the ſenate ſerved only to quicken the operations of Cinna; a Roman army had been ſtationed at Capua, and the officers had been already gained by the liberality or promiſes of the degraded conſul. Without the faſces, and in the habit of a private citizen, he now preſented himſelf to the ſoldiers; his voice, his tears, were calculated to inſpire pity, and engage protection: "From you, fellow-citizens," ſaid he, "I re-
"ceived the honours of the conſulſhip; what your
"ſuffrages conferred upon me, the ſenate has vi-
"olently and illegally bereaved me of. I lament
"not this injury ſo much for my own ſake as
"for yours; why are your votes ſolicited, and to

"what purpoſe are your aſſemblies, if you ſuffer "your reſolutions to be thus annulled by the ca- "price or enmity of the ſenate?" The ſoldiers liſtened to his artful addreſs with compaſſion and indignation; they ſwore to protect his perſon, and to avenge his injuries; and demanded inſtantly to be led againſt thoſe who had preſumed to invade the ſacred majeſty of a conſul.

No ſooner was Cinna eſtabliſhed in the affections and fidelity of the army, than he proceeded to recal Marius and his friends from exile. When the veteran chief had been compelled to yield to the legions of Sylla, and retire from the capital, he had ſnatched a momentary repoſe at his ſeat at Salonium; he was there informed of his own proſcription and that of his friends; and haſtily continuing his flight to Oſtia had embarked on board a veſſel, and had been obliged by adverſe winds to land near Circeii. To elude the diligence of his purſuers he had concealed himſelf in a neighbouring wood; an anxious night was ſucceeded by a day of danger and diſtreſs; as he advanced on the dawn towards the town of Minturnæ, he perceived a body of horſe whoſe motions ſufficiently aſſured him that he was the object of their ſearch; he haſtened to the ſea, and was received by the pity of the crew into a ſmall boat which was accidentally navigating that coaſt. The generoſity

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and firmneſs of the ſeamen reſiſted the menaces of the ſoldiers, who demanded with loud threats that Marius ſhould be delivered to them. But though they ſcorned to betray, they were incapable long to protect the illuſtrious ſuppliant; they rowed him to the mouth of the Lyris, put him on ſhore, and left him to his fate. A cottage, and the hollow bank of a river, afforded a ſhort concealment to the conqueror of Numidia and the Cimbri; but the activity of his purſuers was unwearied; his fears were again awakened by the approach of the horſemen; he precipitated himſelf into the marſh of Minturnæ; and an hour ſpent in that forlorn ſituation might have extinguiſhed the envy which the honours of ſix conſulſhips had inſpired.

From his unworthy retreat, defiled by mud and reeds, he was dragged by his inexorable enemies; plunged into a dungeon at Minturnæ; and again delivered by the zeal of his adherents. He once more embarked for Africa; narrowly eſcaped, with the loſs of ſeveral of his crew, from Sicily; and landed on the ſpot where Carthage once ſtood. Sextilius, the prætor of that province, dreaded to involve himſelf in the misfortunes of the wretched fugitive; he commanded him to quit the coaſt; and declared his reſolution, if he delayed, to execute the deadly ſentence of the ſenate. As the unfortunate exile liſtened to the imperious man-

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date, he anxiously revolved the vicissitudes of fortune; and his own distress, and the fate of the African republic, might naturally inspire the instructive reply; "Tell Sextilius that you have "seen Marius, an exile from his country, sitting "among the ruins of Carthage."

Yet the mind of the wanderer was cheered, and the confidence of his companions confirmed, by the former omens of his future prosperity; "When I was yet a child," said Marius to his friends, "I brought an eagle's nest with seven "young ones to my father's house; the augurs "hailed the omen, and declared that I should be "seven times invested with the supreme honours "and authority of my country." A more solid consolation was afforded by the presence of his son, who having escaped also with difficulty from Italy, had reached the court of Mandrestal, king of Numidia: He had been detained by the policy or jealousy of that monarch; had been furnished with the means of flight by the amorous passion of one of Mandrestal's mistresses; and had found and embraced his father on the coast of Africa. The kindred fugitives might admire or weep at each other's strange and melancholy adventures; but astonishment and grief soon gave way to hope and revenge; and they received with transport the welcome tidings, that the zeal and vigour of

Cinna

Cinna had revived the party of Marius; that great part of Italy had armed in his ſupport; and that he himſelf was impatiently expected, to animate the legions by the preſence of a commander who had vanquiſhed the iron barbarians of the North.

From Africa a favourable wind ſoon tranſported Marius to Italy; he landed on the coaſt of Tuſcany; the veterans, who had conquered under his auſpices, flocked to his ſtandard; he advanced to join the army of Cinna; and received on his march the meſſengers of that general, who aſſured him of his conſtancy and alacrity; and as a token of friendſhip and alliance ſaluted him with the title of pro-conſul. At the age of ſeventy, Marius diſdained the vain honours which were offered to him, and every paſſion ſeemed to be ſwallowed up in his inſatiate thirſt of revenge. His beard was long and neglected; his pace ſlow and ſolemn; his dreſs looſe and ſqualid; and all his actions ſhewed a mind inflamed to fury, and meditating deſtruction. In his firſt operation he ſtormed the port of Oſtia; delivered the inhabitants to the ſword, and the ſpoil to his followers; poſſeſſed himſelf of Janiculum, which overlooked the capital; and intercepted all ſupplies which might be introduced from the ſea; while Cinna and Sertorius pitched their confederate camps in the neighbourhood

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of the ſuburbs, and threatened the immediate aſſault of Rome.

The hopes of the ſenate had been repoſed in two armies which had been levied to extinguiſh the embers of the Social War, and which had been entruſted to the command of Cneius Pompeius Strabo, and Metellus Pius, the ſon of Metellus who had been baniſhed by the intrigues of Marius. But Pompey was killed by a flaſh of lightening, and his troops diſdained the authority of Octavius, who was appointed to ſucceed him; and Metellus, though firm in his hereditary hatred of Marius, was deſerted by his ſoldiers, who haſtened to join the legions of Cinna.

Submiſſion was now the only reſource that remained; and a deputation was commiſſioned from the ſenate, to deprecate the wrath and learn the will of the victors. Yet Cinna refuſed to liſten to their ſupplications, till he knew whether he was addreſſed as conſul, or as a private man; the embarraſſment of the ſenate, who were unwilling to depoſe Merula, was relieved by the voluntary abdication of that generous Roman; and Cinna again formally eſtabliſhed in the conſulſhip, though he refuſed to ſecure by an oath the ſafety of his fellow-citizens, yet promiſed that none ſhould at leaſt be ſlain with his knowledge or conſent.

The gates were at length thrown open, and

Rome

Rome was delivered to the mercy of her rebellious ſons; but in the contemplation of vengeance Marius ſtill affected to revere the laws of his country; and he refuſed to enter the ſacred city, till the ſentence of baniſhment was totally repealed by the voices of the people. At his deſire the tribes were re-aſſembled; but the votes of three or four could ſcarce be collected, before, impatient of vengeance, he entered Rome at the head of four thouſand guards: The gates were ſhut, that none might eſcape; and the ancient proverb, that blood-thirſty is the man who returns from baniſhment to power, was verified in Marius. The ſtreets re-ſounded with the cries of the victims to his inexorable reſentment; and his enemies and his rivals, thoſe who had traduced his merit or oppoſed his greatneſs, were involved in one promiſcuous carnage. Five days and five nights the city ſtreamed with blood, and re-echoed with the ſhrieks of mothers and children, and the cries of violated matrons and virgins; and if Marius conſented, at length, to ſpare the proſtrate remnant, he yielded rather to the remonſtrances of Cinna and Sertorius, than indulged his own feelings.

Amongſt the principal Romans who were ſacrificed to his rage, was the conſul Octavius, who was murdered in his robes of office, and in the preſence

ſence of his lictors; Merula, whoſe name had been inſcribed in the place of that of Cinna, withdrew himſelf by a voluntary death from the fate of his colleague. Two ſenators of the name of Cæſar, Caius and Lucius; two of the name of Craſſus, the father and the ſon, fell by their own hands. Catullus, who had ſhared with Marius the danger and the glory of the Cimbrian war, acknowledged the fatal envy of his aſſociate, and anticipated the mandate of death; but Attilius Serranus, Publius Lentulus, Caius Numitorius, and Marcus Bæbius, were ſlaughtered by the guards of Marius; their bodies dragged through the ſtreets, and their remains contemptuouſly thrown into the Tiber; and the head of Marcus Antonius, whoſe eloquence had ſo often defended the lives and fortunes of his fellow-citizens, was expoſed with horrid and wanton barbarity on the table of Marius.

Fatigued at length though not ſatisfied with ſlaughter, Marius feebly and inſincerely pronounced the word of pardon; and ſome appearance of tranquillity was reſtored to the trembling city. But her rights were trampled upon by the ſtern deſpotiſm of the haughty veteran; who aſpired to rule by the ſword alone, and diſdained to hold by the voice of the people what he could command by the terror of his name. In concert with Cinna he uſurped the enſigns and dignity of conſul; and

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the Romans, long oppreſſed by the cruelty, were humbled by the pride of the capricious tyrant.

The omen of his youth was fulfilled in his age; and Marius beheld himſelf ſeventh time inveſted with the honour and authority of ſupreme magiſtrate. But the accompliſhment of the prediction was far from increaſing his happineſs, or ſecuring repoſe; he trembled at the name, he liſtened in anxious ſolicitude to the victories of Sylla. He dreaded the vengeance that he himſelf had inflicted; and attempted to drown his terrors in midnight exceſs and Bacchanalian orgies: A pleuriſy was the conſequence of his intemperance; and on the ſeventh day of his illneſs, and the ſeventeenth of his ſeventh conſulate, he yielded to the fatal ravages of the diſeaſe, and cloſed a life diſtinguiſhed by the ſtriking and rapid viciſſitudes of ſplendour and miſery.

It has been doubted by Livy, whether Marius was moſt uſeful as a ſoldier, or pernicious as a citizen to his country? Unfortunately for his fame, it was in the latter ſituation that he terminated his long and various career; and Rome was deſolated by the ſame ſword which had protected her from the invaſion of the Cimbri. His valour may be praiſed, and his ſkill as a general applauded; but his cruelty was boundleſs, and his enmity eternal: His hatred to the nobles, contracted

tracted in the obscurity of his youth, remained in age, after he had established the nobility of his own family; and he died in an attempt to extinguish all just or regular government in the blood of those who alone were qualified or disposed to sustain it.

Chapter

Chapter the Twenty-seventh.

SYLLA BESIEGES AND TAKES ATHENS. — DEFEATS THE ARMIES OF MITHRIDATES AT CHÆRONEA AND ORCHOMENOS. — MITHRIDATES TREATS OF PEACE. — SYLLA IS DECLARED AN ENEMY BY THE ROMAN SENATE. — HE PENETRATES INTO ASIA; — CONCLUDES A PEACE WITH MITHRIDATES; — CORRUPTS THE ROMAN ARMY COMMANDED BY FIMBRIA; — RETURNS TO EUROPE. — PREPARATIONS OF THE MARIAN PARTY. — DEATH OF CINNA. — SYLLA LANDS AT BRUNDUSIUM; — IS JOINED BY METELLUS AND POMPEY; — VANQUISHES NORBANUS, AND CORRUPTS THE ARMY OF SCIPIO; — DEFEATS THE YOUNGER MARIUS; — POSSESSES HIMSELF OF ROME. — BATTLES OF CLUSIUM AND ANTEMNÆ. — PRÆNESTE IS TAKEN, AND MARIUS SLAIN. — MASSACRE AND PROSCRIPTION AT ROME. — SYLLA SEIZES THE AUTHORITY OF DICTATOR. — HIS REGULATIONS. — SUCCESS OF

POMPEY IN SICILY, AND FATE OF CARBO. — POMPEY OBTAINS THE SURNAME OF GREAT, AND THE HONOURS OF TRIUMPH. — RESIGNATION AND DEATH OF SYLLA.

U. C. 667, 668. HAD Sylla, inſtead of preſſing forwards to encounter the king of Pontus, continued to occupy the capital, his power had been eſtabliſhed, but his glory had been obſcured. Aſia was already overwhelmed, and Europe invaded, by the arms of Mithridates; he had ſurpriſed Athens, ravaged Bœotia, Achaia, and Laconia; and by the barbarous maſſacre of every Roman citizen throughout his dominions, the juſtice as well as policy of the republic was concerned in his immediate chaſtiſement.

To avenge the murder of fourſcore thouſand Romans, and to recover the city of Minerva, the ſacred ſource of ſcience, Sylla, with ſix legions, landed at Dyrachium, traverſed the plains of Theſſaly, received the ſubmiſſion of Bœotia, and inveſted Athens. He aſſailed the important harbour of the Piræeus, and exerted every art and engine of offence which the imperfect knowledge of war ſuggeſted. Yet he was repulſed by the valour or deſpair

deſpair of the garriſon; and after repeated and ineffectual efforts, was contented to turn the ſiege into a blockade, and await the more ſlow but certain effects of famine. The ſoldiers of Mithridates ſunk beneath the accumulated preſſure of hunger and diſeaſe; their ſtrength was exhauſted; their vigilance relaxed; and in the moment of fatigue and deſpondence, Sylla gave the ſignal again for a general aſſault: The vigorous fury of the legions triumphed over the feeble reſiſtance of the garriſon; the city was taken; the harbour was evacuated; Athens again acknowledged the dominion of Rome; and her citizens experienced the mercy of the victor, whoſe poliſhed mind reſpected the ſeat of Grecian glory and literature, and ſpared the living for the dead.

With an army of one hundred and twenty thouſand men Mithridates deluged Bœotia, and menaced the recovery of Athens. His cavalry were conſpicuous for their numbers, the ſwiftneſs of the horſes, the richneſs of the capariſons, and the addreſs of the riders; and a train of armed chariots, which threatened to mow in their rapid courſe the ranks of the Romans, might well impreſs the mind of Sylla with diffidence and caution. As long as Archelaus, to whoſe ſkill and valour the king of Pontus had committed the chief command of his forces, directed his march through the open plains

of Bœotia, the pro-conſul maintained a wary and reſpectful diſtance. But no ſooner had his adverſary advanced into the ſteep and craggy country which borders on Chæronea, already famous by the victory of Philip over the confederate forces of Greece, than Sylla prepared to avail himſelf of his temerity, and to ſtake the fortune of the war on a deciſive action. Twenty thouſand Romans marched with confidence to attack one hundred and twenty thouſand Aſiatics. An adjacent hill commanded the camp of Archelaus; the legionaries climbed the painful aſcent with perſevering valour; poured down like a torrent from the ſummit on their aſtoniſhed enemies; and ſome idea may be formed of the feeble reſiſtance of the Aſiatics, and of the bloody diligence of the Romans, ſince only fourteen of the latter periſhed, and ſcarce ten thouſand of the former eſcaped to Chalcis.

The defeat of Chæronea rather excited the indignation than awakened the fears of Mithridates; the treaſures and myriads of Aſia were ſtill at his diſpoſal; and he endeavoured, by the moſt vigorous exertions, to maintain his footing in Greece. Eighty thouſand troops, under the command of Dorilaus, joined the remnant which with Archelaus had eſcaped from Chæronea; the latter again aſſumed the chief command; Bœotia was once more the theatre of war; and the numerous and rapid

rapid ſquadrons of Aſia ravaged the open country, haraſſed the detachments, and intercepted the ſubſiſtence of the Romans. The want of proviſions compelled the pro-conſul to deſcend from the heights which he had prudently occupied into the plains which ſtretch round Orchomenos. He choſe a ſituation where deep ditches and extenſive marſhes offered ſome protection from the formidable cavalry of his adverſary. But the legionaries had ſcarce began to fortify their camp before they were aſtoniſhed and broken by the vigorous charge of the horſe of Archelaus. They were preſerved by the undaunted genius of their leader; as he flew to the front, he ſnatched an enſign from the bearer, and as he diſplayed it aloft, he reproached the fears and flight of his ſoldiers: "For me it is glorious to fall in this place; "but for you, Romans, if you are aſked where "you deſerted your general, you may anſwer at "Orchomenos." The terrors of the legions were vanquiſhed by ſhame; the enemy was repulſed; the tide of ſlaughter turned; the troops of Archelaus fled from the field of battle; the intrenchments of their camp were forced; and the veteran victors of the Weſt were enriched by the magnificent ſpoils of the Eaſt.

Two defeats had broken the ſtrength, and had humbled the pride of the king of Pontus; he relinquiſhed his ambitious pretenſions to Greece;

ſuffered Sylla to eſtabliſh his quarters amidſt the plenty of Theſſaly; and authoriſed Archelaus to propoſe a treaty of peace. The pro-conſul himſelf was equally impatient to terminate the war. His victories had been embittered by the moſt alarming and mortifying intelligence from Rome; the proſcription of his own party, the triumph of that of Marius; and though he might derive ſome ſatisfaction from the death of his ancient and inveterate enemy, yet the Marian faction was ſtill ſupported by the abilities and power of Cinna, who had poſſeſſed himſelf of the conſulſhip, declared Valerius Flaccus his colleague in the place of Marius, and had extorted from the Roman ſenate a decree which degraded Sylla from all command abroad, and from the Roman people a vote which proſcribed him as a public enemy at home.

However eager Sylla might be to efface his wrongs in the blood of his enemies, yet ſome praiſe is due to his generous ſpirit, which ſcorned to revenge his private injuries until he had ſubdued the foes of the republic. In his familiar converſation he publiſhed the vengeance which he meditated; but he deferred the hour of execution until he had compelled Mithridates to atone for the cruelties that he had exerciſed againſt the Romans and their allies. His menaces had reached and awakened the fears of Cinna; and to employ his arms at a diſtance from Italy, he had diſpatched Valerius Flaccus

Flaccus with two legions to aſſume the command in Aſia. The inexperience of Flaccus was ſupplied by the military talents of his lieutenant Fimbria: But the latter deſpiſed the incapacity of the former; their hatred was open and implacable; and in a mutiny of the camp, Flaccus was ſlain by the hand or at the inſtigation of Fimbria.

On the murder of his general, Fimbria aſſumed the chief command; and in a ſeries of ſucceſsful operations in Aſia, diſplayed his vigour and ability. His progreſs quickened the negociations of Mithridates with Sylla; the iſland of Delos was fixed upon as the ſcene of conference between Archelaus and the Roman pro-conſul. In the name of the king of Pontus, the former offered to the latter, money, troops, and ſhipping, to invade Italy, and wage war againſt the Romans, by whom he was ungratefully abandoned; the latter ſolicited the former to deſert the ſinking fortunes of his ſovereign, and promiſed the protection and friendſhip of the Roman people. When Archelaus rejected the propoſed treaſon with horror: "And you," ſaid Sylla, "the ſlave, or if "you prefer the title, the friend of a barbarous "tyrant, will not betray your truſt, and yet have "the preſumption to propoſe to me an act of "perfidy; the fields of Chæronea and Orchome-

"nos ſhould have made you better acquainted "with the character of the Romans."

In the anſwer of Sylla, Archelaus confeſſed the neceſſity of purchaſing peace by the moſt important conceſſions. The fleet of Pontus, conſiſting of ſeventy gallies, was to be delivered up to the Romans; the troops of Mithridates were to be withdrawn from all places which had been ſeized in the courſe of the war; the Roman provinces in Aſia, together with Paphlagonia, Bithynia, and Cappadocia, were to be evacuated; and the frontier of Pontus was in future to bound the dominions of her monarch. Two thouſand talents were to be paid to the Romans to re-imburſe them for the expences of war; and all deſerters were to be ſurrendered to the juſtice of the republic; and all priſoners to be reſtored without ranſom.

While the articles awaited the ratification of Mithridates, Sylla, by the vigour of his operations improved the conſternation of that monarch. He invaded Thrace, gratified his army with the ſpoils of nations who had ſo often plundered the Roman provinces, purſued his rout to the Helleſpont, and on his march received the meſſengers of Mithridates, who informed him that their maſter had agreed to all the conditions, except to that which reſpected the ceſſion of Paphlagonia;

nia; at the ſame time they urged his merits in having treated with Sylla, ſince he might have obtained more favourable terms from Fimbria: "That is a traitor," ſaid Sylla, "whom I ſhall "ſpeedily puniſh for his crimes; as for your "maſter, I ſhall know upon my arrival in Aſia, "whether he prefers peace or war."

By the directions of the pro-conſul, and by the diligence of Lucullus, his quæſtor, a conſiderable fleet had been aſſembled; with a favourable wind the Romans navigated the ſtraits of the Helleſpont, and advanced to the city of Dardanus. In the ſight of thoſe walls the Roman pro-conſul and the king of Pontus met in the preſence of both their armies. The language of Sylla was ſuch as the memory of paſt, and the hope of future victories might juſtly inſpire; in the conduct of Mithridates might be diſcerned the recollection of former defeats, and the dread of new misfortunes. He expoſtulated, but he ſubmitted; the conditions which had been propoſed to Archelaus were ratified by Mithridates; and the king of Pontus, who ſcorning the narrow limits of his hereditary dominions, had like a torrent overwhelmed the leſſer Aſia, was again, by the firmneſs of Sylla, confined within his proper channel, and reduced to his natural boundaries of the kingdom of Pontus.

The

The reputation of Sylla was eſtabliſhed by the ſucceſs of his arms; his ſtrength was increaſed by the fleet which he had extorted from Mithridates; and the treaſures of that prince might enable him to ſecure the affections of his own ſoldiers, and to corrupt thoſe of his enemies. He immediately ſummoned Fimbria, who had pitched his camp under the walls of Thyatira in Lydia, to deliver up the command of an army which he held contrary to law; the contempt of Fimbria was expreſſed in his anſwer, that the authority of Sylla himſelf was far from legal. But the hopes which that leader might derive from his own abilities were blaſted by the levity or avarice of his ſoldiers; the liberality of Sylla had been felt and applauded in the camp of Fimbria; the emiſſaries of the pro-conſul had executed their commiſſion with ſecrecy and dexterity; the ſtandards of Fimbria were deſerted; and that chief, after in vain ſoliciting an interview with Sylla, withdrew by a voluntary death from the chaſtiſement which he was conſcious the juſtice of his country would have inflicted on his crimes.

To puniſh the province of Aſia for revolting to Mithridates, Sylla levied on it a fine equal to five years tribute; and the ſum of twenty thouſand talents, at which it is fixed by Plutarch, may enable us to form ſome eſtimate of the revenue

nue which the republic drew from her eaſtern poſſeſſions. At the ſame time he detached Curio, to replace on their thrones the kings of Cappadocia and Bithynia; and in a letter to the Roman ſenate, recapitulated his own exploits from his firſt appointment of quæſtor, under Marius, in Numidia, to his late victories over the king of Pontus. But he added, that he gloried in nothing ſo much as that his camp had proved the ſanctuary for the Roman citizens, whom the cruelty of Cinna had driven into baniſhment: "Yet what," continued he, "have been my rewards for the "ſervices which I have rendered the republic? "I have been declared an exile; my houſe de- "moliſhed; my friends murdered; my wife and "children forced to fly from Rome to ſave their "lives. Such have been the returns that have "been made me for promoting the glory and "power of the common-wealth: But the mo- "ment of vengeance is approaching; and I am "already advancing towards Rome, to puniſh "my own enemies, and thoſe of the republic; "and by the examples of juſtice, to ſecure in "future the repoſe of every virtuous citizen."

The letter of Sylla filled the ſenate with juſt and univerſal terror; and U. C. 669. the fears of that aſſembly were augmented by the intelligence, that he had already ſailed from Epheſus,

pheſus, and landed at Athens. A public deputation was voted to deprecate his wrath; and Cinna was intreated to avert the horrors of civil war, by yielding to the arms, and imploring the mercy of the pro-conſul. But the former was conſcious that his only remaining alternative was to meet his adverſary bravely in the field, or tamely to expect the ignominious death which his cruelty and oppreſſion had merited. He prepared to maintain the war with vigour; divided the faſces with Cneius Papirius Carbo, whom, without any form of election, he aſſociated as his colleague in the conſulſhip; and in the partition of provinces, retained for himſelf the adminiſtration in Italy, while he aſſigned to Carbo the command in Gaul.

To ſecure the fidelity of the province that had been entruſted to him, Carbo endeavoured to exact hoſtages from the principal cities; but an authority which had never been ſanctioned by the approbation of the ſenate, was often reſiſted, and always invidious. In a warm expoſtulation with the aged Caſtricius, the chief magiſtrate of Placentra, "Do you not know," ſaid the conſul, "that I have your life in my power?" "And have "I not," replied Caſtricius with firm compoſure, "already lived long enough?" Yet the native fierceneſs of Carbo was reſtrained by the blameleſs reputation

reputation of Caſtricius; and though he menaced, he ſuffered the virtuous magiſtrate to retire ſafe from his preſence.

In Italy, Cinna had aſſembled a conſiderable force, and had prepared to tranſport his army into Theſſaly, and to encounter in thoſe extenſive plains, the conqueror of Mithridates. The paſſage of the ſea was oppoſed by the murmurs of his troops; and by the injudicious ſeverity of their general, their diſcontents were inflamed into open fury; their rage proved fatal to Cinna himſelf, who was maſſacred in the tumult; his death devolved the ſole power on his colleague Carbo; and the preparations of war were continued with diligence and alacrity.

To the deputation of the ſenate, which had propoſed and recommended an union between the contending parties, Sylla had returned for anſwer that he could never unite in friendſhip with perſons guilty of ſo many and ſuch enormous crimes; if the Roman people were, however, determined to grant them indemnity, he ſhould not attempt to prevent it; but that thoſe would be ſafeſt who took refuge in his camp from the diſorders which threatened the capital.

A ſlight indiſpoſition confined the pro-conſul for ſome time at Athens; and during his reſidence in that city his hours ſeemed devoted to amuſement,

ment, and the pleaſures of the table. His fleet in the mean time, conſiſting of twelve hundred ſhips, coaſted round the Peloponneſus, and took on board the army which had marched from Theſſaly to Dyrachium; apprehenſive that part of his forces on their arrival in Italy, impatient after their toils to embrace their families from whom they had been ſo long divided, might deſert, and retire to their reſpective homes, he propoſed to them a new oath of fidelity; the obligation was willingly accepted by the troops; and the doubts of Sylla were extinguiſhed by the voluntary and generous offer of the ſoldiers, to contribute their own ſpoils to the ſupport of the war.

U. C. 670. Strong in the confidence and affections of his followers, Sylla embarked at Dyrachium, and landed with ſixty thouſand men at Brunduſium in Italy. The Marian party was apparently ſupported by powerful armies and obedient provinces, the ſanction of the ſenate, and the poſſeſſion of the capital: But the principal ſenators in their hearts conſidered Sylla as the patron of their order, and the protector of the nobility; and Rome had too recently ſuffered from the ſword of Marius not to regard with ſecret deteſtation thoſe who had prompted or executed his ſanguinary edicts. Four hundred and fifty cohorts, or two hundred thouſand men, ſtill ranged

ed themſelves under the banners of the party, and acknowledged the authority of Lucius Cornelius Scipio and Caius Junius Norbanus, who had been choſen conſuls. The former commanded on the confines of Campania, the latter in Apulia; and Carbo, young Marius, and Sertorius, with a variety of other leaders, were at the head of armies reſpectable for their numbers and diſcipline; yet none of theſe different bodies attempted to diſpute the landing of Sylla, nor for ſome days to interrupt his march; and to reconcile to his cauſe the inhabitants of Italy who had been by the influence of Marius promiſcuouſly enrolled in the tribes of Rome, he aſſured the principal magiſtrates of the cities that he paſſed, that the grants which had been made to them ſhould be confirmed, if they did not forfeit theſe, and every title to favour, by abetting a faction whoſe violence had ſubverted all legal government.

The enterpriſe of Sylla was fortified by the virtues of Metellus Pius, who having eſcaped from the fury of the Marian faction to Africa, had returned to Italy, aſſembled his friends in Liguria, and now joined the ſtandard of the proconſul. It was alſo at this important criſis that Cneius Pompeius, the ſon of Pompeius Strabo diſcovered the firſt dawn of his riſing glory; at the early age of nineteen he was already diſtinguiſhed

guiſhed by his engaging manners and manly aſpect; and a martial train, who admired the majeſty of the youthful hero, and confeſſed the aſcendancy of his genius, marched under his banner, and cut their way to the camp of Sylla. Pompey was received by Sylla with that reverence which the external advantages of ſtature and beauty impreſs; and the title of *Imperator*, by which the latter addreſſed him, was conſidered as an auſpicious preſage of his future greatneſs.

U. C. 670, 671. During two years of ſucceſſive and deſultory warfare the Marian party ſupported their declining fortunes, and exerciſed the addreſs and valour of Sylla. Near Canuſium the conſul Norbanus was vanquiſhed with the loſs of ſeven thouſand legionaries. To ſuccour his colleague, who was inveſted in Capua, Scipio had advanced with a numerous and veteran army: Anxious to relieve his country from the calamities of civil war, he liſtened to the inſidious overtures of Sylla; and the ſoldiers of both armies were permitted to intermingle during the negociations of peace; thoſe of Scipio heard with fond admiration the ſplendid accounts of the wealth and liberality of Sylla; and when the treaty was interrupted by the ſound of the trumpet, the conſul found himſelf deſerted by his forces, who had quitted his ſtandard to taſte the bounty

bounty of Sylla, and ſhare in the ſpoils of the Eaſt.

The preſence of Carbo ſtill ſecured the obedience of the capital; and at his command the name of the younger Marius was inſcribed with his own, as conſul for the enſuing year. Near Prænesſte, Marius at the head of eighty-five cohorts aſſerted his new dignity; but he was compelled to yield to the conduct of Sylla, or to the ſteady courage of his veterans. After the loſs of twenty thouſand of his ſoldiers, Marius eſcaped with difficulty to Prænesſte; the ſiege of that city was inſtantly formed by the victors; and Sylla, entruſting the continuance of it to Lucretius Offella, preſſed forwards with a ſelect detachment to occupy the capital.

Exhauſted by faction, and incapable of reſiſtance, Rome received with acclamations the chief whom ſhe had ſo lately pronounced the enemy of her freedom and repoſe. The army of Sylla was ranged in the field of Mars, and the proconſul himſelf entered the city, harangued the people, and imputed the diſorders which deſolated Italy to the injuſtice and cruelty of a few factious men, who had overturned the government, and ſacrificed the beſt blood of the republic to their ambition and to their perſonal reſentment. He was heard in ſilence, and perhaps with diſtruſt;

and ſenſible that it was alone by arms that he could ſecure the ſubmiſſion of Rome, after leaving a garriſon to over-awe the levity of the inhabitants, he marched to Cluſium to encounter Carbo, who was already advancing with a formidable army to relieve Præneſte, and to recover the capital.

The battle of Cluſium was only diſtinguiſhed by an uſeleſs deſtruction of the human ſpecies. The conflict was continued from the riſing to the ſetting ſun, and both ſides claimed the honours of victory; yet the fortune of the Marian party viſibly declined; their troops frequently deſerted; a conſiderable detachment belonging to Carbo was defeated and cut off by Pompey; the ſiege of Præneſte was preſſed with vigour; and their hopes and reſources appeared nearly exhauſted, when by a ſudden and unaccountable impulſe they ſeemed to have emerged from deſpondency, and in one great effort aſſerted their own fame, and confounded the preſumption of their adverſaries.

In the Social War the ſtrength of the Italian allies had been divided or broken; but the Samnites and Lucanians, though frequently defeated, had never been entirely ſubdued; in the civil diſſenſions of the republic their ſpirits had been revived; and gratitude or intereſt had attached them to the Marian party. Forty thouſand Samnites and

Lucanians

Lucanians were conducted by Pontius Telusinus, whose boldness and address proved him well worthy of the confidence of his countrymen: By a series of dexterous manœuvres he deceived Sylla and Pompey; avoided the hostile camps of both; urged his march with incessant diligence; and suddenly appeared before the gates of Rome. He repulsed with considerable loss a sally of the Roman youth; and already prepared to assault the astonished and trembling city, when he was diverted from the attempt by the unwelcome presence of Sylla, who on being informed of the danger had advanced in person to the defence of the capital.

The ardour of Telusinus was tempered by prudence; he abandoned the prey which his hand was stretched out to seize; retired from the suburbs, and awaited in the adjacent plain the charge of his adversaries: The conflict was long, various, and bloody; the left wing, in which Sylla commanded, was broken and routed; he himself was exposed to imminent danger, and his life was only preserved by the fidelity of a servant. But when he despaired of retrieving the honour of his arms, and was employed in the melancholy duty of fortifying his camp, he was awakened to hope by the grateful intelligence that Crassus, on the right, had given the enemy a total and irretrievable defeat; had pursued them to the walls of Antemnæ;

and awaited the junction of Sylla to preſs the ſiege of that place.

This laſt action was fatal to the Marian party; Teluſinus had fallen in battle; Norbanus was aſſaſſinated; Sertorius had already retired to Spain; Carbo, after ſuffering a ſecond defeat from Pompey, had fled into Sicily; and Antemnæ was ſurrendered. The deſpair of Marius might ſtill have protracted the defence of Præneſte; but the inhabitants determined to propitiate the victors by a timely ſubmiſſion; the gates were thrown open to the beſiegers; and Marius, as he attempted to eſcape by a ſubterraneous paſſage, was intercepted and ſlain. His head was ſent by Offella to Sylla, who as he contemplated the bloody preſent coolly remarked, "That the young man ought to have "learned the uſe of the oar before he preſumed "to manage the helm." Yet the abilities of Marius are atteſted by the exultation of his adverſary on his death; and it was not until the ſon of the conqueror of Jugurtha and the Cimbri was no more, that Sylla conſidered his proſperity as eſtabliſhed, and ventured to aſſume the ſurname of *Fortunate*.

It is the obſervation of Plutarch, that had the mind of the elder Marius been poliſhed by the muſes and the graces, he would not, after having performed ſo many glorious exploits in his youth, have

have ſullied his age by implacable revenge and remorſeleſs cruelty. The early years of Sylla had been engaged in the acquiſition of ſcience and of literature; he had peruſed with attention the ſacred volumes of Grecian knowledge; and in his familiar converſation, his gueſts might applaud with ſincerity his engaging manners and lively wit; yet the emotions of his reſentment were even more fatal than thoſe of Marius; and he could pronounce with pleaſantry, and behold with ſatisfaction, the agonies of torture and of death.

Reſiſtance had expired with the younger Marius, and the proſtrate republic acknowledged in Sylla the authority of a maſter: He had occupied the capital with a choſen part of his army; while he harangued the ſenate in the temple of Bellona, eight thouſand of the moſt obnoxious citizens were incloſed in the Circus, and involved in a promiſcuous maſſacre; the aſſembly were ſtartled by the loud and piercing ſounds of mingled groans and ſhrieks; they were ſternly reproved by the imperious voice of Sylla: "Attend, conſcript "fathers, to my admonitions; the cries that you "hear are only thoſe of a few wretches who are "ſuffering the puniſhment due to their crimes."

Nor was the terror which this tremendous example impreſſed diminiſhed, when in a diſcourſe to the people, after recapitulating his ſervices, and

the guilt of others, he added, that if his own opinion was followed the republic ought to be *purged*; but at any rate the injuries which had been offered to himſelf and his friends ſhould be avenged. The menace was fulfilled with bloody punctuality; every perſon who was ſuſpected of having favoured the Marian party was expoſed to deſtruction; and thoſe employed to execute his ſanguinary commands frequently indulged their perſonal reſentment or avarice in the choice of the unhappy victims. Among theſe, Cataline eminently diſtinguiſhed his more ferocious and abandoned temper; the murder of a brother was conſidered as an eaſy ſtep to the ſucceſſion of his eſtate; and in the crimes which he practiſed againſt his own family might be diſcerned the flagitious deſigns which he afterwards meditated againſt his country.

The ſenate might deplore, but they could not mitigate, the reſentment of Sylla; their ſilence was reproached by the ſuperior boldneſs of Quintus Catulus: "With whom," ſaid he to the proconſul, "do you intend to live, if in the field "you ſlay all thoſe who are found in arms, and all "who are unarmed in the city?" His example encouraged Caius Metellus to demand of Sylla, "What end do you propoſe to theſe calamities? "We do not petition you to pardon thoſe whom "you

" you have determined to deſtroy, but to quiet " the apprehenſions of thoſe whom you mean to " ſpare." The anſwer of Sylla was ambiguous and terrible: " I am yet uncertain whom I ſhall " leave alive." Yet he ſoon after condeſcended to publiſh a liſt of thoſe whom he had doomed to deſtruction; it contained near five thouſand perſons of diſtinction, among whom were forty ſenators, and ſixteen hundred of the equeſtrian order. Two talents were offered for the head of each whoſe name was included in the bloody ſcroll; the ſevereſt penalties were denounced againſt every one who ſhould harbour or conceal the objects of his reſentment; and the hand of the ſervant was armed againſt his maſter, and that of the ſon too frequently embrued in the blood of his parent.

Amongſt thoſe expoſed to the vengeance of the proconſul, and included in the liſts of proſcription, was Caius Julius Cæſar, deſtined to follow with more perſeverance the example of Sylla, and finally to ſubvert the liberties of his country. His aunt had been married to the elder Marius, and he himſelf was ſon-in-law to Cinna. All Sylla's authority could not prevail on him to divorce his wife; and his firmneſs was puniſhed by his degradation from the holy dignity of Flamen Dialis. Deprived of his patrimony, he only preſerved his

life by flight and concealment. His pardon was at length reluctantly granted to the interceſſion of the veſtal virgins, and to the ſolicitations of the principal magiſtrates of Rome. Yet at the moment that Sylla yielded to their importunities, he is ſaid to have predicted the fatal conſequences of his acquieſcence: "You have prevailed," ſaid he to his friends, "but know that he whom you "are ſo eager to ſave, will one day prove the "ruin of that party which I have laboured to "eſtabliſh; you have no penetration if you do "not diſcern many Marius's in that boy."

The deſpotiſm of Sylla had hitherto been ſupported by the avowed power of the ſword; but he wiſhed to diſguiſe his authority beneath a more ſpecious claim; and no ſooner had he ſatiated his vengeance, than he retired from the capital, and permitted the ſenate to aſſemble with the appearance of freedom. To reſtore the conſtitution Valerius Flaccus was named as Interrex; and the obſequious magiſtrate propoſed an aſſembly of the people, to inveſt Sylla for an indefinite time with the formidable prerogative of dictator.

For an hundred and twenty years no appointment of this kind had taken place; during the former part of that period it had been oppoſed by the jealouſy of the ariſtocracy, and during the latter had been reſiſted by the firmneſs of the tribunes.

tribunes. It was now revived with unuſual ſolemnity in the perſon of Sylla, and ratified by an act of the people, which yielded up their own pretenſions to ſovereignty. The ready obedience of Valerius Flaccus was rewarded by his nomination to the office of maſter of the horſe; and the new dictator returned to the capital, and preſented to the crowd the tremendous ſpectacle of an individual preceded by twenty-four lictors armed with the axes and the rods.

It was ſoon diſcovered that theſe enſigns of magiſtracy were not to be reſerved for parade, but were to be employed for execution. Lucretius Offella in the reduction of Prænesſte had at leaſt ſignalized his zeal. But preſuming on his ſervices, and the favour of the army, he had offered himſelf as candidate for the conſulſhip: He was commanded to deſiſt by the new dictator; and on refuſing, he was killed in the Forum by a centurion, at the order of Sylla. The centurion was dragged before the tribunal of the chief magiſtrate, who heard the complaint with compoſure, avowed his orders, releaſed the centurion, and addreſſed the people with this homely and menacing apologue: "A countryman at the plough "being bitten by vermin, cleared his ſhirt of them "once or twice; but when he found himſelf ſtill "tormented by them, he threw his ſhirt into the "fire:

" fire: Make the application," ſaid he, " beware " of the fire, and provoke me not a third time."

Yet, amidſt ſlaughter and proſcription, the diſpaſſionate judgment of the dictator could clearly perceive and accurately purſue his own and the public intereſt. To ſecure the firſt, he rewarded his ſoldiers with the lands which had been forfeited by the adherents of the oppoſite party; Spoletum, Interamna, Prænesſte, Nola, Volaterra, together with the countries of Samnium and Lucania, were depopulated to recompence the fidelity of the legions; and while, by reſtoring the ſoldier to the labours of agriculture, he diſpelled the dangerous cloud of military power which hung over the commonwealth, in theſe new inhabitants whoſe proſperity depended on his ſafety, he was aſſured of a ready reſource ſhould he again be obliged to vindicate his authority by arms.

To advance his influence in the capital, ten thouſand ſlaves, who had belonged to the vanquiſhed party, were raiſed to the rank of citizen, and promiſcuouſly enrolled among the tribes; and as the enfranchiſed ſlave took the name of the perſon from whom he received his freedom, theſe new citizens became an acceſſion to the family of the Cornelii, and in every tumult were the partizans of Sylla, and the abettors of his power.

Thus

Thus far the regulations of Sylla were calculated for the ſecurity of his own perſon and the ſtability of his government; in his ſubſequent inſtitutions he endeavoured to reſtore the ariſtocracy to its legiſlative and judicial capacity, and to provide a ſucceſſion of able magiſtrates for conducting the affairs of the commonwealth. He filled up the rolls of the ſenate which had been thinned by the ſanguinary reſentment of the contending factions: Five hundred new members were admitted into the aſſembly; they were ſelected from the equeſtrian order; but the choice of them was left to the unbiaſſed ſuffrages of the people; and Sylla immediately proceeded to reinſtate them in thoſe privileges of which they had been ſtripped by the jealouſy or policy of the popular party.

The important truſt of enacting laws was ſolely veſted in the ſenate; it was decreed that the ſenators alone, and thoſe who as officers of the ſtate had a right to vote amongſt them, could preſide as judges; that not above three of the judges could be challenged or rejected by the parties who had appealed to their deciſions; and that their judgment ſhould be given either openly or by ballot, at the option of the defendant.

To the ſenate was committed the nomination of thoſe officers, who with the title of *pro-conſul* were

were entruſted with the government of the provinces: To their order was alſo confined the appointment of tribunes; and an office which had been originally intended to oppoſe, was now confounded in the ariſtocracy. They were rendered incapable of ever afterwards aſpiring to any other magiſterial ſituation; they were reduced to the ancient ſtation of defending the oppreſſed, and interpoſing their negative; and they were ſtrictly excluded from the dangerous pretenſions which they had abuſed of haranguing the people, and of propoſing new laws.

The people themſelves were once more aſſembled by centuries, inſtead of tribes; yet at the ſame time that Sylla endeavoured to curb the factious ſpirit of the multitude, he equally laboured to reſtrain the ambition of the nobles. He revived an obſolete law which prohibited the re-election of any perſon into the conſulate, until after the interval of ten years; and obtained a decree that none could be elected conſul till he had ſucceſſively filled the various offices of quæſtor, ædile, and prætor. He augmented the number of prætors to eight; of quæſtors to twenty; and to prevent the diſorders which had recently afflicted the republic, declared it to be treaſon for any Roman officer, without the authority of the ſenate and the people, to paſs the limits of his province, or to invade any foreign ſtate whatever.

Such

Such were the regulations by which the dictator endeavoured rather than hoped to preſerve the public tranquillity, and to guard from future invaſion the freedom and conſtitution of Rome; and his diligence was not confined to the political adminiſtration of the republic, but was frequently extended to the manners and morals of the Romans. A variety of edicts were publiſhed againſt extortion, ſubornation of perjury, and forgery; and the poiſoner, the raviſher, and the murderer, were awed or chaſtiſed by his wholeſome ſeverity. Some feeble and obſcure attempts were alſo made to repreſs, by the revival of ſumptuary laws, the rapid increaſe of luxury and profuſion; but the deſign was more honourable than advantageous; and Sylla himſelf was ſoon inſtructed how difficult it was to reſiſt the importunities of friendſhip, or the demands of ambition.

Defeated and expelled from Italy, Carbo had attempted to unite the remains of the Marian party in Sicily; he was purſued by Pompey, ſurpriſed, made captive, and publickly executed. From Sicily, Pompey paſſed over into Africa; encountered and defeated Domitius Ænobarbus, the ſon-in-law of Cinna, who periſhed in the action; penetrated through Numidia, and reduced that kingdom to the form of a Roman province.

On his return to Utica he found orders from

Sylla

Sylla to disband his army, with the exception of one legion, and to repair to Rome. His soldiers received with indignation a command which deprived them of partaking in those settlements which had been provided for the followers of Sylla. Their discontents broke out into a furious mutiny; they pressed their general to conduct them into Italy, and promised him in return the dominion of the republic. But Pompey firmly resisted the temptation; and declared, that if the troops persisted he would sooner die by his own hands than violate the government of his country, or afford a pretence for civil war. The tempest was appeased by his fortitude and influence; the soldiers returned to their obedience; and Pompey enjoyed the pleasing reflection of having preserved, by his moderation, the immediate peace of the commonwealth.

The intelligence of the revolt of the African army had already reached Italy, and had filled the mind of Sylla with deep anxiety; he was heard to accuse his fate, which condemned him in age to contend with youth; and he already prepared to collect his scattered veterans to his standard. But his fears were extinguished by the accounts of the firmness and moderation of Pompey; and he permitted the African legions to accompany their beloved chief to Italy. He himself quitted the capital to grace

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the approach of their leader; and the ſurname of *Great*, which in the moment of grateful exultation he beſtowed on that Roman, remained attached to him to the laſt moment of his life. Yet when Pompey claimed the honours of triumph, the dictator endeavoured to repreſs his preſumption; he repreſented that by law no one could aſpire to that diſtinction who had not been conſul or prætor; that for that reaſon it had been refuſed to Scipio Africanus, whoſe atchievements in Spain were equally ſplendid and important; and if a man too young to enter the ſenate was allowed to triumph, it would render odious not only him who contrary to law received the honour, but the ſupreme magiſtrate who granted it. *That more worſhip the riſing than the ſetting ſun*, was the bold and expreſſive anſwer of Pompey; and Sylla, aſtoniſhed at the temerity of the reply, is reported inſtantly to have exclaimed, "*Let him triumph, let him triumph.*"

If the dictator might reluctantly aſſent to, and the graver citizens might ſecretly lament thoſe honours which inſulted the equal laws of the republic, yet ſome conſolation might be derived for the invidious infraction from the conduct of Pompey himſelf. His donation to his troops had fallen ſhort of their expectations; their murmurs reproached his parſimony, and threatened to cloud the glory he had ſo anxiouſly ſolicited; yet he re-

fuſed to acquieſce in their ſeditious demands; and declared that he would ſooner diſband the legions, and relinquiſh the honours of triumph, than ſanction by his example the future preſumption of the army. His firmneſs was reſpected; yet the hearts of his ſoldiers were alienated; and they followed in ſilence his triumphal car. But if he regretted the wonted acclamations of his army, his concern was ſoothed, and his magnanimity was ſtamped by a more virtuous and more permanent approbation; and it was the expreſſion of Publius Servilius, a ſenator of conſular dignity, "The boy "has this day truly deſerved the ſurname of "*Great*."

While Pompey courted the honours and important offices of the republic, Sylla, in poſſeſſion of every advantage that he could demand or his countrymen could beſtow, ſecretly revolved the cares and ingratitude to which power expoſed him. His enemies were extinguiſhed; his authority eſtabliſhed; yet his exertions ſeem rather to have been ſtimulated by reſentment than ambition: The former was ſatiated, and the latter could no longer amuſe; his youth had been devoted to ſenſual pleaſure and literary eaſe; the ſame inclinations ſurvived in age; and he was deſirous of paſſing the remainder of his days in honourable repoſe; nor could he be entirely inſenſible to the magnanimity

nimity of reſtoring that freedom which his arbitrary revenge had oppreſſed.

It was in the beginning of the conſulſhip of Publius Servilius and Appius Claudius, that the dictator appeared in the Forum, armed with the uſual enſigns of his authority; but how great was the ſurpriſe of the multitude when they heard him formally reſign his power, diſmiſs his retinue, and offer to take his trial before the people, to whom he appealed as the judges of his conduct: Aſtoniſhment and admiration prevailed during this extraordinary occaſion; and as Sylla ſlowly retired to his own houſe, the aweful ſilence of the crowd was only interrupted by a ſingle youth, who purſued him to his door with reproaches. Superior to the inſult, Sylla replied by this ſalutary admonition to thoſe who attended him: "The inſolence of this man will prevent any "perſon poſſeſſed of ſupreme power from ever "entertaining thoughts of reſigning it." U. C. 674.

In a capital which he had filled with ſlaughter and mourning, the latter hours of Sylla were engaged in the cultivation of letters and the enjoyments of the table. Soon after his abdication he had married Valeria, the ſiſter of Hortenſius, the celebrated orator; but the wit and beauty of his new conſort could not reclaim him from the indulgence of promiſcuous amours; and U. C. 675.

his love of variety was gratified in an illicit and ſhameful commerce with public ſingers and dancers. In the ſecond year of his retirement, his pleaſures were interrupted by the attack of a loathſome and mortal diſeaſe; his entrails were corrupted; and even the care of his attendants could not deliver him from the moſt diſguſting vermin, which rapidly bred in his fleſh; yet in his laſt moments he preſerved the ſame conſtancy as had diſtinguiſhed him through life. Ten days before his death he drew up a code of laws for the government of Puteoli, a city in the neighbourhood of his villa; and at the ſame time he wrote his own epitaph, more deſcriptive of his character than pages of laboured compoſition. *Here lies* SYLLA, *who never was exceeded in doing good to his friends, or injury to his enemies.*

Chapter

Chapter the Twenty-eighth.

DISPOSITION OF THE LEGIONS AND PEOPLE OF ROME. — MARCUS ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS IS CHOSEN CONSUL BY THE INFLUENCE OF POMPEY. — HE ENDEAVOURS TO REPEAL THE ACTS OF SYLLA. — CONSPIRES AGAINST THE REPUBLIC. — MARCHES TO ROME. — IS DEFEATED BY CATULUS. — DIES IN SARDINIA. — EXPLOITS OF POMPEY IN CISALPINE GAUL. — MARIAN PARTY SUPPORTED IN SPAIN BY SERTORIUS. — HIS CONDUCT AND VICTORIES. — IS OPPOSED BY METELLUS AND POMPEY. — REDUCES LAURA IN THE SIGHT OF POMPEY. — BATTLE ON THE BANKS OF THE SUCRO. — SERTORIUS IS ASSASSINATED BY PERPENNA, WHO IS SOON AFTER VANQUISHED AND PUT TO DEATH BY POMPEY. — ACCOUNT OF THE SERVILE WAR. — SUCCESSES OF SPARTACUS. — VICTORY OF CRASSUS. — COMPETITION BETWEEN CRASSUS AND POMPEY.

GABINIAN LAW. — POMPEY DESTROYS THE PIRATES. — METELLUS REDUCES CRETE.

U. C. 675 686. To the undiſcerning multitude the abdication of Sylla promiſed to re-eſtabliſh the freedom of the republic; but the means by which he had aſcended to power were more ſtrongly impreſſed on the minds of the ambitious, than the magnanimity with which he had reſigned it: In a ſeries of civil wars the Romans had been inured to bloodſhed and rapine; a ſacred regard for the commonwealth was no more; the legions were daring and turbulent, the populace venal and licentious; and the bold or the wealthy, who aſpired to ſovereignty, were confirmed in their enterpriſes by the reſtleſs diſpoſition of the camps and the capital.

The early atchievements and dawning glory of Pompey had attracted the admiration of his fellow-citizens; his influence had raiſed to the conſulſhip, againſt the wiſhes of Sylla, Marcus Æmilius Lepidus; whoſe factious genius already revolved the reſtoration of the Marian party, and the uſurpation of the ſupreme authority. As conſul, he had propoſed to recal the proſcribed exiles, and

and to reſcind the acts of Sylla; but he was ſucceſsfully oppoſed by his colleague Catulus; and thoſe projects which he could not promote by his ſecret intrigues, he prepared to ſupport by open force in the field.

In the allotment of provinces, that of Tranſalpine Gaul had fallen to Lepidus; and his impatience to take poſſeſſion of it had not eſcaped the vigilance and ſuſpicions of the ſenate; yet as no proof could be produced of his deſigns, they could not with decency oppoſe his departure; and their weakneſs and fears were at once revealed in the oath which they exacted, that he ſhould not diſturb the public tranquillity.

From the moment that Lepidus arrived in Gaul, his preparations for war were diligent and inceſſant; he treated with contempt the ſummons of the ſenate, which directed him to return to Rome to preſide at the election of his ſucceſſor; as he conſidered his oath binding only during the term of his conſulſhip, he waited until the expiration of that period might diſſolve the ſacred obligation; and no ſooner had the year elapſed than with the forces which he had collected, he preſſed towards the capital to extort a ſecond time the dignity of conſul.

The ſenate received with aſtoniſhment the intelligence of the march of Lepidus; they had fondly

hoped to avert the calamities of civil war by negociation; but the vain illuſion was diſpelled; and the ambition of the rebel could only be reſtrained by arms. On this emergency Appius Claudius was named as Interrex, to hold the elections, and formally to deprive Lepidus of his command in Gaul; and the principal military authority, with the rank of pro-conſul, was aſſigned to Catulus. The danger demanded the moſt rapid and deciſive meaſures; the gate of Janiculum and one of the bridges over the Tiber were already occupied by Lepidus; but in the field of Mars he was encountered by Catulus at the head of the youth of Rome. The followers of Lepidus were guilty and irreſolute; they ſought their ſafety in flight; Sardinia afforded a tranſient aſylum to their chief; but his indignant ſpirit did not long ſurvive his diſgrace; and a natural death delivered him from that puniſhment in which his ſon and adherents were involved.

Though Pompey had ſupported the election, he had heartily concurred in oppoſing the ambitious enterpriſe of Lepidus; the latter, when he paſſed into Italy, had left Marcus Brutus with a conſiderable army, to ſecure the fidelity of Ciſalpine Gaul. To reduce Brutus, Pompey was appointed by the ſenate to enter that province with two legions: He formed the ſiege of Modena, in which his

his adverſary had ſheltered himſelf; the city after an obſtinate reſiſtance was compelled to ſurrender; but the reputation which Pompey acquired from his victory was ſullied by the uſe of it; and Brutus, who had capitulated on the promiſe of life, was put to death, if not by the expreſs command at leaſt by the connivance of the conqueror.

If the hopes which the Marian party had formed in Italy from the revolt of Lepidus were ſoon extinguiſhed, their reſources in Spain were ſtill great and formidable. The name of Sertorius is ranked with that of the moſt celebrated commanders of antiquity; when the army of Scipio was corrupted by the arts of Sylla, Sertorius with a ſmall body of troops attached to him had retired towards Spain, which had been aſſigned him as his peculiar province; he had found the paſſes of the Pyrenees guarded by the barbarians, whom money alone could render tractable. Some of his officers remonſtrated againſt the diſgraceful expedient of a Roman pro-conſul purchaſing a paſſage from the enemies of the republic; but Sertorius laughed at their ill-timed delicacy; his liberality was felt and acknowledged; the barbarians facilitated his march; and no ſooner had he arrived in Spain than he diligently applied himſelf to conciliate the minds of the natives,

and to animate them to reſiſt the uſurpation of Sylla.

The Spaniards were quickly ſenſible of the benefits which aroſe from the adminiſtration of Sertorius; long accuſtomed to groan beneath the rapacity of their pro-conſuls, they regarded with reverence and gratitude a governor whoſe vigilance was exerted to diminiſh their burdens and alleviate their diſtreſſes. A variety of vexatious impoſts were aboliſhed; and by compelling his forces to paſs the winter in tents, he not only rendered them more hardy, but delivered the cities from thoſe evils which are the frequent effects of military licentiouſneſs.

While he indulged thoſe hopes which the affections and fidelity of the natives might naturally inſpire, he was ſurpriſed by the unwelcome intelligence, that the officer to whoſe care he had entruſted the paſſes of the Pyrenees had been aſſaſſinated; that his troops were diſperſed; and that Caius Annius, the lieutenant of Sylla, was advancing againſt him with an army which precluded all reſiſtance. Unable any longer to maintain himſelf in Spain, he embarked for Carthagena, and with a ſmall ſquadron of Cilician gallies, for ſeveral years procured a precarious ſubſiſtence by deſultory inroads on the coaſt of Africa. Weary of a life of ignoble adventure, he formed

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the project of viſiting the Fortunate Iſlands, and of paſſing the remnant of his days far from the din of arms. He was diverted from this deſign by the remonſtrances of his daring followers, whoſe reſtleſs diſpoſitions were ill ſuited to tranquil retirement, and by the ſolicitations of the Luſitanians, who ſtill defended their liberties againſt the Romans, and invited Sertorius to command their armies and direct their councils.

The abilities of Sertorius juſtified the confidence of the Luſitanians. He affected to conſider the latter as the people of Rome; beſtowed on three hundred of his companions the title of ſenator; aſſumed himſelf the enſigns of a Roman officer; and conſtantly ſpoke of Sylla as an uſurper. In all tranſactions with foreign nations he maintained the dignity of the republic; and in treating with Mithridates, he refuſed to cede the province of Aſia, or to purchaſe the alliance of that prince by any conceſſions injurious to the Roman empire.

The confidence of the Luſitanians was increaſed by their credulity; and a ſuperſtitious people regarded with veneration a leader who urged his pretenſions to a myſterious correſpondence with the gods. A milk white hind had been reared with care by Sertorius, and inſtructed to approach him with familiarity; the ſacred gift of Diana, for ſuch

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he aſſerted it, was cheriſhed with pious eſteem; and the intelligence that he derived from his own vigilance and penetration, was invariably aſcribed to the ſecret admonitions of the animal, and the protecting favour of the deity who had beſtowed it.

The experience of Metellus was oppoſed to the genius of Sertorius; but the former ſunk beneath the aſcendancy of the latter; his convoys were intercepted, his troops haraſſed; and his operations only ſerved to augment the reputation of his antagoniſt.

The defeat of Lepidus ſwelled the forces of Sertorius. Perpenna, with a conſiderable part of the vanquiſhed army, had eluded the purſuit of Catulus, paſſed over into Sardinia, and thence landed in Spain. The admiration of his ſoldiers compelled him to join the ſtandard, and acknowledge the authority of Sertorius; who by this new acceſſion of ſtrength, not only extended his authority over Spain, but even menaced by his preparations the tranquillity of Italy.

The fears of the ſenate were proclaimed by the appointment of Pompey to the joint command with Metellus; and the favourite general of Rome preſſed forward to the conteſt by a new route through Gaul and the Pyrenees. Yet his ardour was ſoon checked by the ſevere leſſons of a maſter;

maſter; he had ſcarce arrived, before a legion that covered the foragers of his army was intercepted and cut off by the enemy; and in his attempt to raiſe the ſiege of Laura he was expoſed to more open diſgrace. On his approach Sertorius had occupied an eminence, which Pompey prepared to attack; but he ſoon perceived, from the diſpoſition of his adverſary, that he could not advance without expoſing his rear to a ſtrong detachment which Sertorius had poſted behind. "I "will teach this pupil of Sylla," added the lat- "ter with an inſulting ſmile, "to look behind "as well as before him." Senſible of his danger Pompey ſilently withdrew, and had the mortification of beholding the capture and deſtruction of Laura.

On the banks of the Sucro, in the enſuing campaign, Pompey in a general engagement aſpired to retrieve his fame; he was encountered with equal courage and ſuperior ſkill by Sertorius; night put an end to the engagement; and in the morning the appearance of Metellus, at the head of a freſh army, prevented Sertorius from renewing it; yet, conſcious of his own abilities, he could not repreſs his contempt of his antagoniſts: "If," ſaid he, "the old woman had "not interpoſed, I ſhould have ſent the boy "back to Rome well chaſtiſed."

For

For three years the unequal conteſt was maintained by the valour and addreſs of Sertorius; ſometimes vanquiſhed, but always formidable, he ſeemed to acquire new ſtrength from defeat. Superior to open force, he fell by ſecret fraud; Perpenna had conſented with reluctance to ſubmit to his authority; and his envy of the reputation of his general impelled him to a crime as fatal to his own fame as it was deſtructive to the hopes of his party; in the execution of the guilty deed, the laws of friendſhip and hoſpitality were baſely violated; and at an entertainment to which he had been invited by Perpenna, Sertorius was aſſaſſinated.

On the murder of Sertorius, Perpenna aſſumed the chief command; but his exultation was alloyed by fear and remorſe; and his power was ſhaken by the approach of Pompey. He was vanquiſhed, deſerted, and made priſoner; his propoſal to redeem his life by betraying thoſe Romans who had engaged with him in a treaſonable confederacy, was rejected by the magnanimity of the conqueror; and the terrors of the conſpirators were extinguiſhed by the inſtant death of Perpenna, and the public deſtruction of all his papers.

While the fortune of Pompey prevailed in Spain, in Italy the republic was again agitated by civil commotion. The accidental eſcape of a few

few gladiators from their confinement at Capua, menaced the deſtruction of the Roman commonwealth: Spartacus, a Thracian captive, with ſeventy or eighty of his companions, diſdaining to ſhed their blood for the amuſement of their maſters, burſt from their priſon; they armed themſelves with the weapons of their profeſſion; from their hiding places on Mount Veſuvius they extended their devaſtations over the adjacent country; were joined by multitudes of deſperate ſlaves; and overthrew in open field the prætor of Capua, who had ventured to engage them.

The ſpoils of the vanquiſhed furniſhed the inſurgents with arms, and the fame of their victory ſwelled the number of their aſſociates; inſtead of a licentious band of rovers, Rome was alarmed by the progreſs of a diſciplined hoſt of ſeventy thouſand men, who had already defeated the prætors Clodius, Varinus, and Coſſinnius; yet the mind of Spartacus was far from being intoxicated by ſucceſs; and inſtead of aſpiring to ſubvert the Roman empire, he limitted his views to the freedom and ſafety of his followers; and directing his march towards the ridge of the Appenines, hoped to gain the Alps, whence he and his aſſociates might readily eſcape to their native countries of Gaul, of Thrace, or of Germany.

In this attempt he had already obtained ſome advantages

advantages over the conſuls Gallius and Lentulus; and had the ſame prudence moderated the hopes of his companions, they might have eluded the vengeance of Rome. But their ſpirits were elated by the proſpect of dominion, and they refuſed to exchange the fertile fields of Italy for the dreary waſtes of their nativity.

To encounter this domeſtic enemy, with the dignity of prætor, the chief command in Italy was impoſed on Marcus Craſſus. Scarcely known but by his immenſe wealth, the vigorous meaſures of the new magiſtrate agreeably deceived the expectations of his friends, and raiſed the jealouſy of his rivals; by a ſeries of well-concerted manœuvres he encloſed the army of Spartacus within the peninſula of Brutium; and though the deſpair of the rebels pierced the works which he had laboriouſly conſtructed, yet they were purſued by Craſſus into Apulia, and compelled to ſtake their fortunes on a deciſive battle.

In the action Spartacus maintained his reputation for undaunted courage; as he alighted in the front of his army he plunged his ſword into his horſe; "If I conquer," ſaid he, "I ſhall have "horſes enough; if I am vanquiſhed, I ſhall "have no need of them." Determined on victory or death he precipitated himſelf amongſt the thickeſt battalions; killed two centurions with his own

own hand; and, oppreſſed by numbers, fell at length covered with wounds; his aſſociates, diſcouraged by his fate, fled in confuſion. The greateſt part were ſlain in the purſuit; ſix thouſand who were taken priſoners were crucified alive; about five thouſand who eſcaped from the field were encountered by Pompey on his return to Spain; they were put to the ſword after a feeble reſiſtance; and their deſtruction enabled Pompey to claim the honour of having terminated the *Servile War*.

The indignation of Craſſus was arouſed by pretenſions ſo injurious to his own glory; though unequal to his rival in military fame, he had derived conſiderable luſtre from his late exploits; his conſequence was increaſed by his affability, his eloquence, and his riches; and the oppreſſed and poor were ſure to find in him a ready advocate and liberal protector.

Yet the eyes of the multitude were dazzled by the ſplendid atchievements and invariable proſperity of his competitor; in enumerating his actions on his return from Spain, Pompey reckoned up eight hundred and ſeventy-one towns which he had reduced, and proportioned his demands to the extent of his ſervices. Though he had not paſſed through the previous offices of queſtor, ædile, or prætor, he aſpired to the honours of a triumph,

triumph, with the dignity of conſul. His ambitious hopes were confirmed by the partiality of his countrymen; and in the ſupreme magiſtracy his name was inſcribed with that of Craſſus.

By an ancient inſtitution the Roman knights, when they had completed their ten years of military ſervice, preſented themſelves before the cenſors, to whom they gave an account of the campaigns that they had made, and under what generals; the citizens of Rome beheld with admiration their conſul, Pompey the Great, appear in the Forum, leading his horſe as a ſimple knight, but dreſſed in his conſular robes, and preceded by his lictors. "Have you completed your years of "ſervice, and under what generals?" was the queſtion of the cenſors. "I have completed "them, and in all have been myſelf the general," was the reply of Pompey: Nor could the people withhold their tribute of applauſe to the man who inveſted almoſt with ſovereign power, appeared to reverence the laws equal with the meaneſt of his order.

The ambition of Pompey was concealed beneath the appearance of moderation: He heſitated to oppreſs the freedom of the republic; but he impatiently expected the moment when the Romans ſhould themſelves deliver their liberties into his hands; and he rejoiced in every commotion that

that might render his ſervices neceſſary to the commonwealth. A band of rovers from Cilicia had, in ten years of ſucceſsful piratical adventure, extended the terror of their name throughout the ſhores of Aſia and the Mediterranean Sea. A thouſand veſſels, manned by daring and expert mariners, menaced the ſafety of Sicily, and intercepted the ſubſiſtence of Rome. The prætor Marcus Antonius, who had been appointed to command againſt the pirates, was defeated by them in a naval engagement; and though ſome advantage was obtained over them by the conſul Metellus, they ſoon regained their aſcendancy, and in their predatory deſcents even ravaged with impunity the coaſts of Italy.

To chaſtiſe their preſumption, Gabinius, a tribune of the people and the confidential friend of Pompey, propoſed that the latter ſhould be veſted for three years with ſupreme command over all the fleets and armies of the republic throughout the Mediterranean, from the Pillars of Hercules, and throughout all the provinces bordering on that ſea, as far as fifty miles within land.

The motion of Gabinius was received by Pompey with well-diſſembled diſguſt: "Are my toils "never to end," was his affected exclamation. But the diſapprobation of the ſenate was open and

ſincere; and Catulus, the moſt virtuous member of that aſſembly, reſiſted the wild partiality of the people with manly firmneſs. His integrity extorted the admiration even of thoſe whoſe wiſhes he oppoſed; and when he aſked, "If this man, "to whom alone, by thus employing him in every "ſervice, you give an opportunity of learning "the profeſſion of a ſtateſman and ſoldier, ſhould "fall, to whom will you next have recourſe?" "To you, Catulus," was the unanimous and grateful reply; yet if his virtues were reſpected, his admonitions were ſlighted: The propoſal of Gabinius was approved in an aſſembly of the people; and by the favour of the multitude, Pompey was elevated to an authority which ſeemed to abrogate every other power in the commonwealth.

The diligence and vigour of Pompey in employing that authority were ſcarce leſs remarkable than the addreſs and diſſimulation he had made uſe of to obtain it. Although it was the middle of winter, he gave orders to arm as many veſſels as could be collected: The pirates beheld with aſtoniſhment two hundred and ſeventy gallies, which cruiſed inceſſantly on the coaſts of Spain and Gaul, and over the ſeas of Sardinia and Corſica. Unprepared to reſiſt ſo formidable an armament, they gradually ſought ſhelter in their harbour, on the coaſt

coaſt of Cilicia. They were followed by Pompey, who had embarked at Brunduſium, and with a ſtrong ſquadron ſwept the ſeas in his paſſage to Cilicia. On his appearance in the bay, the pirates abandoned their veſſels and naval ſtores, and ſubmitted to his mercy. Twenty thouſand, who had ſurrendered at diſcretion, were removed to the moſt inland parts of the continent, diſtant from any means or temptation of renewing their former depredations.

In ſix months from his firſt nomination to command, the active genius of Pompey had reſtored the free navigation of the ſeas. But the glory which he had acquired by the vigour of his meaſures was ſullied by the envy which he betrayed. Crete had eſpouſed the cauſe of the pirates, and braved the menaces of Rome: Her puniſhment had been referred to Quintus Metellus; who, in two years of laborious victory, had reduced the whole iſland, except the city of Lappa. The walls of Lappa were already ſhaken by his machines, when the inhabitants implored the preſence of Pompey, to whom they offered to ſubmit. An imperious meſſage was ſent by the latter to Metellus, commanding him to deſiſt from the enterpriſe, which he had nearly atchieved. But Metellus deſpiſed his orders, puſhed the ſiege with increaſe of ardour, and

compelled the city to surrender. The complaints of Pompey were preferred to the senate; but that assembly approved the conduct of Metellus, and rewarded his conquest of Crete with the honours of a triumph.

Chapter

Chapter the Twenty-Ninth.

HOSTILITIES COMMENCED BY MITHRIDATES.—INVADES CAPPADOCIA AND PHRYGIA.—APPOINTMENT OF LUCULLUS AND COTTA.—THE LATTER DEFEATED BY LAND AND SEA.—VICTORIES OF LUCULLUS.—MITHRIDATES SEEKS REFUGE IN THE DOMINIONS OF TIGRANES, KING OF ARMENIA.—HE IS CLAIMED AS A PRISONER BY LUCULLUS.—REFUSAL OF TIGRANES.—LUCULLUS INVADES ARMENIA.—HIS VICTORIES.—MUTINY OF HIS TROOPS.—ADVANTAGES GAINED BY TIGRANES AND MITHRIDATES.—POMPEY IS APPOINTED TO SUCCEED LUCULLUS.—THEIR INTERVIEW.—EXPLOITS OF POMPEY.—DEFEATS MITHRIDATES.—RECEIVES THE SUBMISSION OF TIGRANES.—ESTABLISHES HYRCANUS IN THE PRIESTHOOD OF JERUSALEM.—RESUMES THE WAR AGAINST MITHRIDATES.—PROJECT OF THAT PRINCE TO INVADE ITALY.—REVOLT OF HIS ARMY IN FAVOUR OF HIS SON PHARNACES.—DEATH OF MITHRIDATES.—HIS CHARACTER.—POMPEY RETURNS TOWARDS ITALY.

U. C. 678. WHILE Pompey was engaged in acquiring naval trophies, a more ſplendid career of victory was opened to the arms of the republic in the Eaſt. Ten years of peace had repleniſhed the coffers, and reſtored the hopes of Mithridates. The fields of Cheronea and Orchomenos had taught him experience; and inſtead of truſting to a looſe and diſorderly hoſt, the interval of tranquillity had been ſedulouſly employed to arm and diſcipline his troops after the manner of the Roman legions.

The death of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, who bequeathed his territories to the Romans, excited Mithridates to try again the fortunes of war; beſides the temptation of ſo valuable a prize he was encouraged by the embarraſſments of the Roman republic. In Spain, Sertorius ſtill defended the remnant of the Marian party, and aſſerted a dangerous independence: But when the king of Pontus ſolicited the alliance of the latter, and offered in return for the Roman province of Aſia, to aſſiſt him in purſuing his revenge againſt his private enemies, he was aſtoniſhed by the anſwer of the magnanimous rebel. "Mithridates," ſaid he, "may re-conquer Cappadocia and Bithynia, to

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"which the Romans have no right; but if he "preſumes to enter the dominions of the republic "I will inſtantly declare war againſt him."—"What laws," exclaimed the king of Pontus, as he received the imperious mandate, "would this "Roman preſcribe to us if at the head of the re-"public; ſince, driven to the ſhores of the At-"lantic, he ſets bounds to our empire, and me-"naces us with his vengeance if we preſume to "renew our attempts on Aſia?" Yet the prudence of Mithridates induced him to repreſs his reſentment; he entered into a treaty with Sertorius; and in return for a ſmall body of troops, and ſome Roman officers, conſented to ſupply him with three thouſand talents, and a fleet of forty gallies.

The preparations of the king of Pontus were worthy of the enemy he prepared to encounter. One hundred and twenty thouſand infantry, ſixteen thouſand cavalry, with an hundred chariots armed with ſcythes, were entruſted to the conduct of able and experienced commanders; their ſubſiſtence was provided for by numerous magazines; and a fleet of four hundred gallies promiſed to ſecure the dominion of the ſea.

The ſcattered detachments of the Romans in Aſia were incapable of reſiſting the tempeſt; and the ſenate received with U. C. 679.

aſtoniſhment the melancholy intelligence that Cappadocia and Phrygia were already poſſeſſed by their enterprizing adverſary. To chaſtiſe his preſumption, and to reſtore the honour of the republic, the conſuls Lucius Licinius Lucullus and Marcus Aurelius Cotta were directed to proceed toward sthe Eaſt. To the former, with the government of Cilicia, was aſſigned the more active duty of recovering Cappadocia; to the latter was entruſted the defence of Bithynia.

The abilities of Lucullus had been already approved in Aſia, as quæſtor to Sylla; and the friendſhip of the latter was not only diſtinguiſhed by inſcribing to him his commentaries, but his will had confided to him the honourable care of watching over the tender years of his infant ſon. From Italy, Lucullus carried with him only one legion; and though he found four in Aſia, yet two of theſe had belonged to the army which murdered Flaccus and betrayed Fimbria, and were habituated to the vices of civil war; greedy of plunder, and impatient of command. The preſence of a new general revived a tranſient ſenſe of obedience; and Lucullus, after having reformed the abuſes under which Cilicia groaned from the avarice of the officers of the revenue, was preparing to lead his troops into Cappadocia, when he was diverted from the deſign by intelligence of the defeat and diſtreſs of his colleague.

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Cotta had ſcarce aſſumed the government of Bithynia before he was ſummoned to maintain it by arms againſt Mithridates. Jealous of any partner in the glory he fondly anticipated, inſtead of calling to his aſſiſtance Lucullus, he aſpired to the honour of vanquiſhing alone the king of Pontus. His miſconduct was equal to his preſumption: in the ſame day he was defeated both by land and ſea; and after the loſs of four thouſand legionaries and ſixty gallies, ſought ſhelter within the walls of Chalcedon.

Lucullus was no ſooner appriſed of the danger of Cotta, than he abandoned the projected invaſion of Cappadocia, and preſſed forwards to the defence of Bithynia. He found Mithridates occupied in the ſiege of Cyzicus, an important city ſituated on the Propontis, and of which the weakneſs of the garriſon promiſed him an eaſy conqueſt. But the want of regular ſoldiers was ſupplied by the ardour of the inhabitants; the troops of Mithridates were repulſed in repeated attacks; their detachments were cut off, and their convoys intercepted by the active vigilance of Lucullus, who had pitched his camp on a neighbouring height. The king of Pontus, after beholding the greateſt part of his troops periſh under the accumulated preſſure of famine and diſeaſe, embarked on board a galley U. C. 680. 687.

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and escaped to Nicomedia; while the remnant of his forces, in endeavouring to effect their retreat to Lampsacus, were pursued, attacked, and nearly destroyed by the Romans on the banks of the Æsopus and the Granicus.

It was not only on land that Mithridates was doomed to experience the reverse of fortune; on the sea he was equally destined to deplore his own weakness, and the superior courage and dexterity of his adversaries. A fleet which had been designed to support the revolt of Spartacus in Italy, was encountered by Lucullus in the road of Lemnos, and totally destroyed; and this calamity was succeeded by the mortifying intelligence that Sertorius was no more, and that Spain was again reduced to obedience.

From the visionary conquest of the East the more humble hopes of Mithridates were confined to the defence of his hereditary dominions: The winter was employed in levying a new army; and on the return of spring, at the head of forty thousand men, he awaited near Cabira, on the frontiers of Armenia, the approach of Lucullus. The hostile armies watched each other's motions with mutual jealousy; but the courage of the king of Pontus seems to have withered in the presence of the Roman general; a disorderly retreat was converted into a hasty flight; Mithridates himself escaped

caped with difficulty the purſuit of his enemies, and his diadem, which fell into their hands, was reſerved to adorn the triumph of Lucullus.

The kingdom of Pontus was rapidly over-run by the arms of the pro-conſul; the treaſures of Mithridates became the prey of the victors, while that unhappy prince himſelf was reduced to ſeek an aſylum in the court of Tigranes, king of Armenia, who had eſpouſed his daughter. Yet even in the moments of flight his mind was occupied by a jealous ſenſe of the diſhonour to which his wives might be expoſed; to preſerve them from the indignity of adorning a Roman triumph, he iſſued orders for their immediate deaths. Of two, who were his own ſiſters, one breathed her laſt execrating her brother's cruelty; the other expired, extolling, in that extremity of his own fortune, the generous care he had taken of her honour. Monimé, a celebrated Grecian beauty, had long rejected the amorous ſolicitations of Mithridates, and had yielded on condition that ſhe ſhould partake his throne and nuptial bed. Inſtead of a royal huſband and ſplendid palace, ſhe found herſelf devoted to a gloomy priſon and barbarous keeper. When told that ſhe muſt die, and that the manner of her death was left to her own choice, ſhe unbound the regal fillet from her hair, and uſed it as a cord to ſtrangle herſelf. It broke

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in the attempt; "Bauble," exclaimed ſhe, "thou "art uſeleſs even for this ſervice;" and ſtretching out her neck to the eunuch, ſhe bade him fulfil his maſter's laſt commands.

The purſuit of Lucullus after Mithridates had been limitted to the frontiers of Armenia; but though he forbore to violate the dominions of Tigranes, he aſſerted the claim of Rome to the king of Pontus, and diſpatched his brother-in-law Publius Clodius to the Armenian court to demand the ſurrender of the royal fugitive. With the crown of Armenia, Tigranes ſtretched his ſway over Meſopotamia, and was acknowledged as ſovereign of Syria. The wide extent of his dominions, and the train of tributary princes who waited before his throne, had inflamed his pride almoſt to madneſs; he received with impatience the meſſage of the pro-conſul; declared his determination to protect Mithridates, and his confidence in his own ſtrength to chaſtiſe the Romans ſhould they preſume to invade his territories.

The anſwer of Tigranes was the ſignal of action to the army of Lucullus. The Roman general determined by the celerity of his motions to anticipate the preparations of his adverſary; and while the king of Armenia ſtill repoſed on the terror of his name, Lucullus had paſſed the broad ſtream of the Euphrates. Though Tigranes was aſtoniſhed

aſtoniſhed at the intelligence of his approach, his preſumption was ſtill undiminiſhed; he iſſued his commands to Metrodorus, an Armenian general, who was at the head of a powerful army, to march againſt the Romans, put the invaders to the ſword, and ſpare only the perſon of Lucullus, whom he was deſirous to behold alive. Near Tigranocerta, Metrodorus encountered and was routed by a ſmall detachment of the Roman army; and the Armenian monarch himſelf was ſoon after ſurpriſed by the ſilent march of the legions; and compelled to abandon his camp, his equipage, and his baggage, to an enemy whoſe hoſtile enterpriſes he had treated with deriſion.

The ſiege of Tigranocerta was inſtantly formed by Lucullus; and to preſerve a city which boaſted his name, the king of Armenia erected his ſtandard near mount Taurus, and ſummoned to his ſupport the numerous tribes which extended from the Araxes to the Tigris. One hundred and fifty thouſand heavy armed foot, fifty-five thouſand horſe, and twenty thouſand archers and ſlingers, might well extinguiſh the ſenſe of former misfortunes, and elate his mind with the hope of an eaſy victory. He deſpiſed, as unworthy of his dignity, the counſel of Mithridates to haraſs the enemy, and avoid a deciſive action; and as he ſurveyed the martial band of the Romans, his contempt was expreſſed

expreſſed in the ſarcaſtic obſervation, *If they are ambaſſadors, they are too many; if they are ſoldiers, too few.*

The confidence of Lucullus was raiſed on better foundations than the numbers of a looſe and diſorderly multitude; he relied on the ſuperior diſcipline and ſtability of the legions; and while he left one half of his army to continue the ſiege of Tigranocerta, with the other half he advanced to encounter the Armenian monarch. The fate of the action may be expreſſed in a few words. The vaſt and unwieldy hoſt of Tigranes was ſlaughtered or diſperſed by twelve thouſand Romans: Of the victors, only five periſhed; while the field was ſtrewed with one hundred thouſand of the vanquiſhed: The king himſelf eſcaped without his diadem; and in a melancholy interview with Mithridates, lamented the fatal conſequences of his temerity.

The obſtinacy of the governor ſtill protracted the fate of Tigranocerta; and it was not until an inteſtine war broke out in the city that he conſented to acknowledge the ſuperior fortune of Lucullus. The riches of that capital ſufficiently rewarded the perſeverance of the beſiegers; the royal treaſure alone was eſtimated at eight thouſand talents, or one million five hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling; and every ſoldier

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was gratified with eight hundred drachms, about twenty-five pounds ſterling.

The capture of Tigranocerta, and a ſecond victory over the joint armies of Tigranes and Mithridates, on the banks of the Ciſanias, ſeemed in the opinion of Lucullus to have decided the fate of the war. In his letters to the ſenate, he deſcribed the dominions both of Mithridates and Tigranes as totally reduced; and deſired, that inſtead of a ſucceſſor that aſſembly would appoint commiſſioners to ſettle the adminiſtration of the provinces he had ſubdued.

If ſuch were the real ſentiments of Lucullus, he was ſoon awakened to a melancholy ſenſe of his error. The negociations of the fugitive kings of Armenia and Pontus had been extended to the court of Parthia; and the preparations of Arſaces proclaimed his intentions to vindicate the royal dignity againſt the encroaching ſpirit of the Roman republic. His deſigns had not eſcaped the vigilance of the pro-conſul; and he already meditated the chaſtiſement of Arſaces, and the invaſion of Parthia, when his lofty projects were broken by the intractable and ſeditious ſpirit of his troops.

The mutinous diſpoſition of the legions which had murdered Flaccus, and betrayed Fimbria, had been communicated to the reſt of the army; the ſoldiers had borne with impatience a ſeries of

long

long toils and rigid diſcipline; and on the firſt mention of the Parthian enterpriſe, their ſecret diſcontents broke forth in open revolt. It is the opinion of Plutarch, that if to the qualities Lucullus poſſeſſed of courage, vigilance, activity, prudence, and the love of juſtice, he had united the principal talent of a general, the ſkill of making himſelf loved by his ſoldiers, the empire of the Romans would not have had the Euphrates for its boundary, but the Caſpian ſea and the extremities of the Eaſt. But his ſeverity and reſerve had alienated the hearts of the legions; and the ſeditious flame was fanned by the breath of Publius Clodius, the brother-in-law of Lucullus, who afterwards diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the profligacy of his life, and by his inflexible enmity to Cicero; and who in the camp gave an early ſpecimen of his future conduct in the capital. At the factious voice of that reſtleſs patrician the legionaries roſe againſt their general: "Are we," exclaimed they, "after "ſo many hardſhips, ſtill to be expoſed to freſh "toils, to eſcort the camels which carry the trea-"ſures of our chief, and to purſue continually "two fugitive princes, who lead us over deſarts "or uncultivated waſtes, while the ſoldiers of "Pompey, after a few campaigns in Spain or in "Italy, are enjoying the fruits of their labour in "liberal ſettlements procured by the favour of "their

« their leader." The remonſtrances of Lucullus appeaſed for a moment the tempeſt; but he was compelled to confine his operations to Meſopotamia. The hopes of the kings of Armenia and Pontus were revived; and the latter, re-entering his dominions, obtained a deciſive victory over the Roman army commanded by Triarius, in which ſeven thouſand legionaries periſhed.

The proconſul had been informed of the danger of his lieutenant, and by his intreaties the legions were perſuaded to move with more than common rapidity to the ſuccour of their countrymen; they arrived only to behold their lifeleſs and mangled bodies; and the neglect of Lucullus in purſuing his march without conferring on the ſlain the rites of ſepulture, revived again the diſcontents of his followers.

While Lucullus, deprived of all reſources but what he found in his own virtue and courage, ſtruggled with the difficulties of his ſituation abroad, he was expoſed at home to all the rage of envy and faction; at the motion of the tribune Gabinius, the conſul Acilius Glabius had been appointed to ſucceed him in the command of Bithynia and Pontus; but however impatient the latter might be to reap the golden harveſt of the Eaſt, he was unwilling to expoſe his fortunes at the head of a mutinous army to the dangers of war; and

his nomination ſerved only to diminiſh the authority of Lucullus, and to ſpread more wide the flame of civil diſcord.

At length a more celebrated candidate appeared on the theatre of public glory; Pompey, from reducing the pirates of Cilicia, openly aſpired to ſpread his reputation throughout the Eaſt, and to lead in chains the ſovereigns of Armenia and Pontus. His pretenſions were ſupported by the tribune Manilius, who moved the people to extend the authority of their favourite to the provinces of Phrygia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Pontus. The temperate counſels of the ſenate, unwilling to truſt ſo important a commiſſion to a man whoſe ambition began to obſcure the merits of his fellow citizens, were overwhelmed by the torrent of popular favour; and Pompey, in Cilicia, received with affected concern and real tranſport the appointment which delegated to him the adminiſtration of the Eaſt, and the conduct of the war againſt the kings of Armenia and Pontus.

The ſlender authority which Lucullus had hitherto retained over his army, had vaniſhed on the intelligence that Pompey was named to ſupercede him; the ſoldiers who had ſerved under Fimbria had marched out of the camp with brandiſhed arms, and extorted by their menaces their diſmiſſion. With the feeble band which ſtill remained

mained attached to him, the proconſul was reduced to remain an indignant and inactive ſpectator of the inſulting progreſs of Tigranes and Mithridates; and after an ineffective and deſultory campaign in Galatia, he met and ſurrendered the enſigns of his dignity to his ſucceſſor.

The interview between Lucullus and Pompey was at firſt conducted with laboured expreſſions of regard and compliments on their reſpective ſervices, but ended in terms of reproach and animoſity. Pompey upbraided Lucullus in ſtating the kingdom of Pontus as a Roman province while the king himſelf was alive and at liberty. Lucullus ſuſpected that the late mutiny had been fomented by the emiſſaries of Pompey, to make way for his own ſucceſſion to command. He perſiſted in maintaining the propriety of the report which he had made to the ſenate, and in which he deſired that commiſſioners ſhould be ſent as uſual to ſecure the poſſeſſion of the countries that he had conquered. He obſerved, that no province could be kept if the troops ſtationed to preſerve it refuſed to obey their general; that if ſuch diſorders were made the engines of politics in the competition of candidates for office, the republic had worſe conſequences to fear than the loſs of diſtant colonies; that although the fugitive king had taken advantage of the factions of Rome and in the

army, he had not yet recovered any conſiderable portion of his kingdom, nor been able to diſturb the commiſſioners of the ſenate; and that there was nothing left for a ſucceſſor but the invidious taſk of aſſuming that glory which had been acquired by the ſkill and courage of another.

U. C. 687, 690. The immediate conduct of Pompey ſeemed ſufficiently to juſtify the ſuſpicions of his predeceſſor. He ſuſpended the execution of all orders which had been iſſued by Lucullus; changed the plan of his operations; remitted the puniſhments, and recalled the rewards he had decreed to particular perſons; ſuffered the leaders of the late diſorders to eſcape with impunity, and treated with the uſual confidence even the legions which had refuſed to obey the orders of their general. His own authority ſeems to have been ſecured by the hatred of the army to their late commander, and by their deſire to contraſt their own conduct and the ſucceſs of the war under their preſent leader, with that which had taken place under his predeceſſor. Even the legions of Fimbria, which by a decree of the people had received their diſmiſſal, voluntarily ranged themſelves under his ſtandard; and while his gallies lined the whole coaſt of the Egean and Euxine ſea, at the head of a numerous and well-affected army, he advanced in ſearch of the enemy.

Though

Though perſonal envy might have influenced the firſt arrangements of Pompey, yet the public glory was diligently attended to in his ſubſequent operations. The ſtate of affairs was favourable to his enterpriſes: The kings of Parthia and Armenia, on whoſe ſupport Mithridates chiefly depended, regarded each other with more than ſecret jealouſy; the former had received and protected the ſon of the latter, who at the head of a Parthian army had invaded Armenia, and aſpired to wreſt the ſceptre from the hand of his father.

The diſſenſions of the Parthian and Armenian monarchs allowed Pompey to direct his whole force againſt Mithridates. The latter, fatally convinced of the ſuperiority of the Roman legions, ſedulouſly endeavoured to avoid an action, and to ſhelter himſelf behind the broad and rapid ſtream of the Euphrates. His deſign eſcaped not the penetration of Pompey; by a quick and ſilent march he paſſed, unobſerved, the army of the king of Pontus; and while the forces of the latter advanced in ſecurity to the banks, they were aſtoniſhed and diſmayed by the appearance of the Roman eagles. The victory on the ſide of Pompey was deciſive; and Mithridates, with only a few attendants, fled towards Colchis: From thence, by the eaſtern coaſts of the Euxine, he continued his flight to the Scythian Boſphorus, in hopes to

find refuge in the Cherſoneſus, a kingdom which he had conquered and beſtowed on his ſon Machares. But Machares had long determined to abandon the ſinking fortunes of his father, and had ſolicited the protection of Rome. The fire of youth was revived in the aged monarch by the conduct of his degenerate ſon; he aſſembled a force amongſt his Scythian allies; vanquiſhed and dragged Machares from the throne; and in the puniſhment of his unnatural revolt, left him only to chooſe the manner of his death.

By the maxims of the Romans, no kingdom was ſuppoſed to be conquered until the king was either killed, taken, or forced to ſurrender himſelf. And though Pompey could not conceal his mortification at the eſcape of Mithridates, yet, inſtead of conſuming his forces in the vain purſuit, he turned aſide to the kingdom of Armenia, and aſſumed the important and honourable office of arbiter between Tigranes and his rebellious ſon.

The preſumption of Tigranes in proſperity could only be equalled by his puſillanimity in adverſity. He condeſcended to enter the Roman camp on foot, offered his diadem at the feet of Pompey, and reſted on his clemency his future hopes of royalty. He was confirmed, by the decree of the pro-conſul, in his paternal kingdom of Armenia Major; but he reſigned to the Romans

Syria

Syria and Phœnicia, with Galatia and Cilicia; and the revolt of his ſon was rewarded with the immediate poſſeſſion of the leſſer Armenia.

Though the elder Tigranes ſubmitted without repining to the deciſion of Pompey, the younger beheld with diſcontent the empire for which he had ſacrificed his duty as a ſon and a ſubject, diſmembered by the haughty victor. While Pompey was yet in Armenia, he renewed his correſpondence with the court of Parthia; his intrigues were detected; he was inſtantly arreſted; and his ally, the Parthian prince, endeavoured in vain by intreaties and menaces to obtain his freedom.

But if Tigranes was contented to receive his ſceptre from the hand of a Roman, Mithridates ſcorned to proſtitute the dignity of a king, and amidſt the bleak regions of the North ſtill appeared formidable to his enemies. After beſtowing the leſſer Armenia, which had been deſigned for the younger Tigranes, on Dejotarus, king of Galatia, and reducing the kingdoms of Pontus and Syria into the form of Roman provinces, Pompey prepared to follow the ſteps of the royal fugitive, and to carry the war into the Cherſoneſus. While he allowed his troops a ſhort reſpite from their toils in the city of Damaſcus, he received a deputation from Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus, two brothers contending for the ſovereignty

of Judea: Intereſt or juſtice inclined him to the ſupport of the former; but the party of the latter rejected his mediation, and braved his indignation. Animated by the preſence of their chief, they ſeized the temple of Jeruſalem, and for three months repelled the attacks of the Romans; the walls at length yielded to the engines of the beſiegers; the temple was taken by ſtorm; twelve thouſand of the citizens periſhed in its defence; and the conqueror, after having viſited with religious awe the Holy of Holies, and having reinſtated Hyrcanus in the prieſthood or ſovereignty of Judea, reſumed again his enterprize againſt the king of Pontus.

On the frozen banks of the Danube, Mithridates not only hoped to eſtabliſh his authority, but meditated the conqueſts of the fertile plains of Italy. He had liſtened with fond attention to the extremities to which the citizens of Rome had been reduced by the invaſion of the Gauls and Hannibal. He cheriſhed the project of marching an army of Scythians by the Danube and the Alps; and extended his negociations to the barbarous princes whoſe dominions bordered on his own. A race of hardy northern chiefs, fearleſs of danger and rapacious of plunder, received his propoſals with alacrity, and revelled in fancy amidſt the ſpoils of Rome; but the ſplendour of the enterprize

terprize could not dazzle the minds of his ſubjects, whoſe humbler hopes were confined to preſent ſecurity and tranquillity. The ſanguinary ſeverity of his temper was become formidable even to his own children; and the fate of Machares probably influenced the revolt of Pharnaces. The army embraced with ardour the cauſe of the young prince; the fortreſs in which the aged monarch reſided was ſuddenly ſurrounded by the ſoldiers, whoſe angry countenances proclaimed their deadly intention. From the battlements Mithridates demanded what were the deſigns of the inſurgents? "*To exchange an old king for a young one,*" was the unanimous and inexorable reply. It was in vain by repeated meſſages he ſolicited leave to ſeek his ſafety in flight; a ſullen ſilence was obſerved by the rebels; and the apprehenſions that he ſhould be betrayed alive into the hands of the Romans quickened his final reſolution. He ſwallowed with a ſteady countenance the poiſon which, with a melancholy preſage of his fate, he always carried about him. The vigour of his conſtitution was ſuperior to the ſtrength of the baleful potion; and a confidential ſlave who attended him, finiſhed with his ſword what in thoſe times was accounted the higheſt proof, as it was the laſt act of fidelity in a ſervant to his maſter.

Thus periſhed, in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his

his age, Mithridates, who for forty years had occupied the arms of the republic; and who, in his enmity to Rome, ſeems to have inherited the implacable ſpirit of Hannibal. Though he could not bring the effeminate natives of Aſia to withſtand the charge of the legions, yet his own ſuperior genius was diſplayed in diſtreſs, and he roſe from defeat with a vigour that aſtoniſhed his adverſaries. In perſon he was tall, and in conſtitution robuſt; and though inſenſible to every other allurement, he was the frequent and willing captive of female beauty He appears to have loved and truſted many of the ſex with a boundleſs paſſion: By ſome of them he was followed in the field; others he diſtributed in his different palaces; had many children, and entertained more parental affection than commonly attends the polygamy of Aſiatic princes. Yet even towards his own ſons, as well as towards every one elſe, on occaſions which awakened his jealouſy for his crown, he was ſanguinary and inexorable.

The intelligence of his fate was communicated to Pompey, while his army was encamped at the diſtance of ſome days march from the capital of Judea, in his way to Arabia. As the principal object of the war was accompliſhed, he returned towards Pontus, and there received the ſubmiſſion of Pharnaces. He then proceeded to

ſettle

ſettle the remainder of his conqueſts; annexed the kingdom of Pontus to the province of Bithynia, gave the Boſphorus to Pharnaces, and put the province of Syria, extending to the frontier of Egypt, under the government of Scaurus. Three years had elapſed from his appointment to ſucceed Lucullus; during that term he had retained the ſole adminiſtration of the affairs of the Romans in Aſia; and had exchanged with the Parthian monarch many provoking meſſages, which in a different conjuncture might have led to immediate war. But the circumſtances were not ripe for ſuch a meaſure; and Pompey had provided ſufficient materials for a triumph, without attempting to break through the boundaries on which ſo many Roman generals were doomed to diſappointments, and on which the progreſs of the empire itſelf was deſtined to ſtop.

Chapter the Thirtieth.

STATE OF ROME. — CHARACTER OF CATALINE. — CONSPIRES WITH SYLLA AND ANTONIUS. — IS ACCUSED OF EXTORTION. — ASPIRES TO THE CONSULSHIP. — CHARACTER OF CICERO. — SECOND CONSPIRACY OF CATALINE. — CHARACTERS OF HIS ASSOCIATES, LENTULUS, CETHEGUS, &c. — CICERO AND ANTONIUS ARE CHOSEN CONSULS. — MEASURES TAKEN BY CATALINE. — HE IS PROPOSED AND REJECTED A SECOND TIME AS CONSUL. — IS ACCUSED BY CICERO IN THE SENATE. — HE QUITS ROME. — INTRIGUES OF THE OTHER CONSPIRATORS DETECTED. — DEBATE ON THEIR PUNISHMENT. — CHARACTER OF CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR. — OF MARCUS PORCIUS CATO. — DECREE OF TH SE NATE. — EXECUTION OF THE CONSPIRATORS. — SITUATION OF CATALINE. — HE ENGAGES THE ARMY OF THE CONSUL ANTONIUS. — HIS DEFEAT AND DEATH.

U. C. 689, 691. WHILE the glory of Rome was extended abroad by the arms of Pompey, her very exiſtence as a republic was menaced at home by

by the ambitious deſigns of her profligate offſpring. A long ſeries of proſperity had overwhelmed public virtue and ancient ſimplicity; the looſe hands by which the reins of government had been held ſince the abdication of Sylla, encouraged a crowd of needy and deſperate pretenders; and above theſe Lucius Sergius Cataline was diſtinguiſhed by his more diſſolute manners and more daring diſpoſition.

Deſcended from an illuſtrious family, which had often been inveſted with conſular dignity, he had in early youth diſhonoured the luſtre of his extraction by a criminal commerce with a veſtal nun; and in the proſcription of Sylla is reported to have murdered his own brother to open his way to the ſucceſſion of his eſtate. He afterwards married Aurelia Oreſtilla, in whom no good man ſaw any thing to commend, except her beauty; and as ſhe objected to his hand on account of his having a ſon who had attained to manhood, their guilty nuptials were preceded by the ſudden and more than ſuſpicious death of the unfortunate youth. And this crime, if we may credit Salluſt, precipitated him on the moſt deſperate projects againſt the republic; for his polluted ſoul, full of rage againſt both gods and men, could find no reſt either waking or ſleeping, ſo inceſſantly did a guilty conſcience torment him. Hence his face

was

was pale, his countenance ghaſtly, his gait unequal and abrupt, and a certain wildneſs and fury conſtantly appeared in his viſage and behaviour.

If the vices of Cataline have been blackened by prejudice, his talents have probably alſo been adorned by fancy. He is repreſented of ſingular ſtrength both of body and mind; with a head to contrive, a tongue to perſuade, and a hand to execute. From his youth he had delighted in civil wars, rapine, and maſſacres; patient of cold, hunger, and want of reſt; covetous of others wealth, yet prodigal of his own; and ſo perfectly verſed in diſſimulation, that he could be debauched with the gay and ſevere with the virtuous; and while the vicious were his friends by inclination, he attached to himſelf even ſome of the good by a ſpecious ſhew of pretended virtue.

Cataline had ſerved in the capacity of prætor in Africa, and on his return to Rome had offered himſelf as a candidate for the conſulſhip; but on a charge of extortion and rapine in his government, he was compelled to deſiſt from his immediate pretenſions: His haughty mind ill brooked the diſappointment; and he had entered into a conſpiracy with Publius Sylla and Publius Autronius, (who, though the conſuls elect, had been ſet aſide on a conviction of bribery) and with Cneus Piſo, a young nobleman needy, factious, and of a daring ſpirit,

ſpirit, to maſſacre the ſenate and uſurp the government; but their deſigns were fruſtrated by the impatience of Cataline: He gave the ſignal before a ſufficient number of his aſſociates were aſſembled; and the death of Piſo ſoon after induced the other conſpirators to relinquiſh the project.

The gold of Africa had proved the ſource of danger; it became the means of ſafety to Cataline. His proſecutor, Publius Clodius, was allured by a ſhare of the ſpoil; and the culprit had little to apprehend from the ſentence of judges whom he was permitted to chooſe himſelf. He was no ſooner acquitted of the charge than he again aſpired to the dignity of conſul; the hopes of ſix other candidates were inflamed by the ſame ambition; but of theſe, far the moſt conſpicuous was Marcus Tullius Cicero.

The little town of Arpinum, which claimed the honour of producing Marius, might boaſt with equal ſatisfaction the birth of Cicero: The former, in his victories over Jugurtha and the Cimbri, had aſſerted the martial glory of his country; and the latter enabled her to contend with Athens for the palm of eloquence. The nobility might affect to deſpiſe the obſcurity which hitherto had involved the family of Cicero; but his talents burſt forth w h a luſtre that commanded their admiration. The character of a pleader was become

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one of the moſt powerful recommendations to public notice, and one of the ſureſt roads to conſequence and civil preferments. In this character Cicero ſhone forth unrivalled; and either in the forum or the ſenate his auditors were compelled to acknowledge the faſcinating powers of the orator. His impeachment of Verres, and his vindication of the tribune Caius Cornelius, whom he defended, ſays Quintilian, *not only with ſtrong but with ſhining arms*, had eſtabliſhed his reputation on the broad baſis of the public opinion; nor was he deficient in gratifying the inclinations of the multitude; ſince, though by principle attached to the ariſtocracy and the ſenate, he ſacrificed his own ſentiments to the wiſhes of the people; and ſupported the motion of Manilius, which inveſted Pompey with an unbounded and unprecedented authority over the provinces of the Eaſt.

If in the purſuit of the ſupreme magiſtracy of the republic Cicero condeſcended to deviate in ſome meaſure from the path which his diſintereſted judgment approved, the means which Cataline adopted but too plainly indicated the ends which he propoſed. His perſon was protected by a band of daring and diſſolute youths whom he had attached to his intereſts by gratifying their vices and profuſion; and in the ſeduction of whom he had not even ſpared the honour of his own body;

body: But it was chiefly from the ſupport of Sylla's veterans, whoſe cauſe he had always eſpouſed, and among whom he had been bred, that he promiſed himſelf ſucceſs. The majority of theſe had long ſince waſted in riotous exceſs the lands that had been aſſigned them, and impatiently awaited another civil war to repair their ſhattered fortunes.

As the time for the election of conſuls approached, it was neceſſary for Cataline to diſcloſe his projects to thoſe in whom he could principally confide, and on whom he was chiefly to depend for the execution of them. Among the moſt eminent of theſe were Cornelius Lentulus, Caius Cethegus, Publius Autronius, and Caſſius Longinus.

Lentulus was deſcended from a Patrician branch of the Cornelian family; and for the notorious infamy of his life had been expelled the ſenate by the cenſors. By obtaining the prætorſhip a ſecond time, he had recovered his former rank in that aſſembly; and by the comelineſs of his perſon, the gracefulneſs of his action, the ſtrength and ſweetneſs of his voice, he had attained ſome reputation as an orator. But he was indolent, luxurious, and profligate; yet his frantic ambition prompted him to hope, that on the ruins of the republic he ſhould riſe to deſpotic power; and the wild illuſion was cheriſhed by the ambiguous anſwers of the ſoothſayers, who, from the Sybilline

books, assured him three Cornelii's were destined to the dominion of Rome. Cinna and Sylla had already possessed it; and he flattered himself that the prophecy was to be completed by his own elevation.

The extraction of Cethegus was equally noble with that of Lentulus; but in council he was more ardent, in action more determined. He had early engaged in the cause of Marius; had afterwards reconciled himself to Sylla; had attained by his intrigues to considerable influence in the capital; and even procured for Lucullus his appointment to command against Mithridates. But the irregularity of his life and the arrogance of his disposition had gradually diminished, and at last overwhelmed his credit; and it was only by some general convulsion of the state that he could expect to regain his former ascendancy.

Publius Autronius had obtained the consulship, but had been deprived of it for bribery; and Cassius Longinus was a competitor for it with Cicero himself. The rest were men of similar characters and similar pursuits; bankrupt in their fortunes, profligate in their lives, and who could only hope to restore their credit, and to conceal their infamy, in the subversion of the republic, and in the destruction of all civil government.

Such were the chiefs whom Cataline assembled at his house, and to whom he disclosed the designs he

he had long meditated. He repreſented to them, that the ſenate was in a ſtate of careleſs ſecurity; that Italy was drained of regular forces; and that Pompey, with the flower of the legions, was waging a diſtant war in the Eaſt. That it was better to periſh in arms than to linger out a life of poverty; that the plebeians, oppreſſed by the pride and luxury of the nobles, waited only the ſignal to vindicate their wrongs; that ſucceſs was in their hands, and nothing was wanting but courage to make the attempt; and that liberty, riches, and honours would be the ſure rewards of an eaſy victory. To theſe arguments were added ſuch promiſes as were ſuited to their reſpective conditions; the abolition of their debts, the plunder of the opulent, and the proſcription of their particular enemies. But above all, as the moſt important means of promoting their enterpriſe, he urged them diligently to ſupport his own election to the conſulſhip; and to join with him as his colleague, Caius Antonius, ſon of the celebrated orator, with whom he was bound in the ſtricteſt ties of intimacy, and the embarraſſed ſtate of whoſe private affairs pointed him out as a proper aſſociate in plans of diſorder and rapine.

The double hopes of plunder and revenge were motives too powerful to be reſiſted by men of deſperate fortunes and ſtrong paſſions; the con-

ſpirators entered with alacrity into the views of their leader. But the ſecret had been imparted to too many to be kept with proper care; Curius, one of the faction, had boaſted to Fulvia, a woman of rank, with whom he maintained a criminal correſpondence, that a revolution would ſoon take place. The rumour of a dark deſign againſt the ſtate was circulated throughout the capital; the election of Cicero was ſecured by the general apprehenſions of the city; and Antonius was joined with him in the conſulſhip, being preferred to Cataline by a ſmall majority.

Although in his rejection Cataline experienced a ſevere diſappointment, yet it induced him not to abandon the dangerous projects he had embarked in. As his difficulties increaſed his ardour ſeems to have been ſtimulated: He provided magazines of arms in the moſt convenient parts of Italy; tranſmitted large ſums of money to Manlius, a bold and experienced officer, who enrolled in Hetruria a conſiderable number of the veterans of Sylla, ready to take the field on the firſt ſummons; declared himſelf again a candidate for the conſulſhip; and when taxed in the ſenate with conſpiring againſt the ſtate, openly replied:— "That there were two bodies in the republic, the "one of them infirm with a weak head, the other "firm without a head; which laſt had ſo well de-

"ſerved

" ſerved of him, that it ſhould never want a head " while he lived."

If the audacity of Cataline awakened the fears, it at the ſame time excited the vigilance of the ſenate: The virtuous and the opulent were equally intereſted to prevent the elevation of a man to the ſupreme magiſtracy whoſe deſigns involved civil government and private property; and on the new election for conſuls, Cataline had the mortification to behold Julius Silanus and Licinius Muræna preferred before him. This ſecond repulſe inflamed to madneſs a mind naturally furious: Impatient of delay, he convened a new meeting of his aſſociates; exhorted them to inſtant action; propoſed the firing of the city, and a general maſſacre of the ſenate; and promiſed, amidſt the univerſal conſternation, to ſupport them with the army from Hetruria; to aſſume the command of which he intended immediately to depart. Above all, he adviſed them to ſecure the deſtruction of Cicero; and two knights, Lucius Vargunteius, and Caius Cornelius, whoſe intimacy with the conſul allowed them an eaſy acceſs to him at all hours, readily engaged to plunge their daggers in his heart.

While the conſpirators congratulated each other that the moment was rapidly approaching in which they were to reap the harveſt of their guilty toils,

they tottered on the brink of deſtruction. The wakeful eye of Cicero had penetrated into the moſt ſecret ſcenes of their councils: The fond confidence of Curius had been betrayed by Fulvia; and when Vargunteius and Cornelius preſented themſelves at the houſe of the conſul, the numerous guard they beheld, and the excluſion they experienced, might have ſufficiently admoniſhed them that their treacherous intentions were already divulged.

To avert the dangers which impended over the the republic, the ſenate was convoked by the conſul in the temple of Jupiter; and though the unuſual place in which it was aſſembled might have appriſed Cataline of the object of debate, yet with his wonted preſumption he heſitated not to aſſume his ſeat among the members. His audacity kindled the immediate indignation of Cicero; and inſtead of proceeding to ſtate the evidence of the conſpiracy, the glowing eloquence of the conſul was directed againſt the daring invader of the public tranquillity.

"To what degree, O Cataline," exclaimed he, "do you purpoſe to abuſe our patience? How "long imagine to inſult us with your frantic treaſons? Perceive you not by the nightly guard "on the Palatine, by the watch kept throughout "the city, by the general conſternation, by the "aſſem-

" aſſembling of the ſenate in this fortified place,
" by the countenances of the ſenators; perceive
" you not that your dark deſigns are brought to
" light? Which of us, think you, is ignorant of
" what you did laſt night, and the night before?
" *Where* and *with whom* you held counſel, and
" what were your reſolutions? The ſenate knows
" all this; the conſul knows all; and yet—Oh
" degenerate times—the traitor lives! Lives, did
" I ſay? He mixes with the ſenate; he ſurveys
" us, and marks out every one whom he has
" deſtined for ſlaughter; whilſt we, the counſellors
" of the ſtate, judge that we diſcharge our duty
" to the commonwealth if we eſcape his fury and
" his ſword."

" Mercy, conſcript fathers, is what I am na-
" turally diſpoſed to; but my conſcience con-
" demns me for inactivity and negligence, at a time
" when ſuch terrible dangers threaten my country.
" An army againſt the republic is already encamp-
" ed in Italy, on the borders of Hetruria; their
" numbers daily increaſe; their leader we behold
" within our walls. Should I order thee, Cataline,
" inſtantly to be ſeized and dragged to execution,
" there is reaſon to fear that all good men would
" cenſure me, not as too cruel, but as too ſlow. But
" one reaſon ſtill reſtrains me; thou ſhalt then be
" put to death, when there ſhall not be found a

" man ſo wicked, ſo deſperate, ſo like thyſelf as " to deny it to be done juſtly. So long as there " is one who dares to defend thee, thou ſhalt live; " but live, as thou doſt now, ſurrounded by the " guards that I have placed about thee.

" What is it, Cataline, you can now have in " view, when neither the ſhades of night can con- " ceal your traiterous aſſemblies; nor the walls of " your houſe hinder the voice of your treaſon " from being heard? Why do you not quit the " capital where your counſels are detected, and " join the camp of Manlius, and begin the war? " The gates ſhall be open to you, provided you " will only carry with you the reſt of your worth- " leſs aſſociates. There you may riot and exult " at your eaſe, without the mortification of ſeeing " one honeſt man about you; there you may " practice all that diſcipline to which you have " been trained; of lying upon the ground, not " only in purſuit of lewd amours, but of bold and " lawleſs enterpriſes; there you may exert that " boaſted patience of hunger, cold, and want, " which ſtill will not avert the chaſtiſement which " awaits you."

Amidſt the general aſtoniſhment and indignation of the ſenate, Cataline himſelf alone preſerved an unaltered countenance: With downcaſt looks, which he well knew how to aſſume, he begged

of

of the fathers not to believe too haſtily what had been ſaid againſt him. "That ſuch was his extraction, and ſuch the tenor of his whole life as might encourage him to hope for every honour he could aſpire to; nor was it to be imagined that he, a patrician, whoſe anceſtors as well as himſelf had given many proofs of their affection to the Roman people, ſhould wiſh to overturn the government; while Cicero, a ſtranger, a tenant only of a houſe he had lately hired in Rome, was zealous for its preſervation." The reproachful murmurs of the ſenators prevented him from proceeding; and convinced that he had nothing more to hope from diſſimulation, he gave looſe to the natural violence of his diſpoſition. "Since," exclaimed he, with a menacing aſpect, "you are determined to liſten to the ſuggeſtions of my enemies, the flame that you have kindled in my fortunes ſhall be extinguiſhed in the ruins of the commonwealth."

From the aſſembly of the ſenate he haſtened with furious ſteps to his own houſe; and after a ſhort conference with the partners of his hopes and guilt, and exhorting them to act with vigilance and firmneſs, he exchanged his ſenatorial habit for that of a warrior, and attended by a ſmall retinue, haſtened to join the camp on the confines of Hetruria.

The

The retreat of Cataline was far from leaving the capital in a ſtate of ſecurity; his aſſociates were numerous, needy, and deſperate; and ſome praiſe muſt be allowed to their fidelity, ſince not one had been allured by the proffer of reward or indemnity to betray the cauſe he had engaged in. The intelligence that Cicero had procured through Fulvia, was far from ſufficient to ground a formal accuſation on; and the conſul, though armed with deſpotic power by the decree of the ſenate to *provide for the ſafety of the republic*, was yet at a loſs how to proceed legally againſt the conſpirators, when a new incident delivered him from his perplexity, and enſured their deſtruction.

The ambaſſadors of the Allobroges, a people who inhabited that diſtrict which compriſes modern Geneva and part of Savoy, had ſolicited in vain the ſenate for a diminution of the taxes which had been impoſed on them; their diſcontent at their repulſe pointed them out to the conſpirators as proper perſons to aſſociate in their enterpriſe: In the firſt impulſe of reſentment they liſtened with pleaſure to the projects that were opened to them; and promiſed in the name of their countrymen to furniſh a conſiderable body of cavalry: They were accordingly entruſted by Lentulus with confidential letters to Cataline. But no ſooner had the emotions of diſappointment ſubſided, than they calmly

calmly began to revolve the reſources of the contending parties, and to ſurvey their own ſituation; on one ſide were the preſſure of a load of debt, an inclination to war, and the proſpect of ſplendid advantages, if ſucceſsful; on the other, ſuperior ſtrength, ſafer meaſures, and a certain recompenſe inſtead of uncertain expectations: The fortune of Rome inclined the balance, and they determined to reveal the guilty ſecret.

Poſſeſſed of this new and weighty evidence, Cicero concerted his plans with prudence and conducted them with vigour. The ambaſſadors of the Allobroges were by their own connivance arreſted at a ſmall diſtance from Rome, on their road to the camp of Cataline; the letters of Lentulus and his aſſociates were found upon them; the perſons of the conſpirators were immediately ſecured; they were confronted with their accuſers in the preſence of the ſenate; and after heſitating ſome moments, acknowledged their ſignatures, and confeſſed their treaſonable deſigns.

By the Porcian and Sempronian laws no citizen could be ſubjected to capital puniſhment unleſs condemned by an aſſembly of the people; and though the ſenate in caſes of emergency had claimed the juriſdiction of life and death, yet the exerciſe of it had been rare, and ever regarded as odious: The rank of the criminals on this occaſion could not fail

fail of rendering it ſtill more invidious; but the atrociouſneſs of the enterpriſe ſeemed to have kindled an almoſt univerſal indignation, and the majority of the ſenate already inclined to the opinion of Julius Silanus, the conſul elect, who had given his voice for the immediate execution of the conſpirators; when the importance and delicacy of the debate ſummoned from their ſeats two members, deſtined to command by different qualities the future admiration of their country, Caius Julius Cæſar, and Marcus Porcius Cato.

The credulity of a ſuperſtitious people might be abuſed by the pretended deſcent of Cæſar, on the female ſide, from the goddeſs of *Love* and *Beauty*; with a greater degree of probability he ranked amongſt his anceſtors, Ancus Martius, one of the firſt kings of Rome. But an extraction both regal and divine was eclipſed by an aſſemblage of rare endowments; and nature had laviſhed upon him whatever could adorn the body or the mind; his various genius could reconcile and unite the love of pleaſure, the thirſt of knowledge, and the fire of ambition. To the purſuit of the firſt he had ſacrificed his fortune, to the acquiſition of the ſecond he had devoted thoſe hours which he could ſpare from the converſation of the gay and the enjoyment of the fair; and it now remained for him to gratify the laſt by entering on the career of

public glory: He had already taſted of popular favour; had been preferred to the office of high prieſt in oppoſition to Catulus, one of the moſt virtuous and illuſtrious of the Roman ſenate; and was prætor elect for the enſuing year. Yet theſe honours had not been conferred without awakening the jealouſy of the ſenate; and the pecuniary difficulties he laboured under, and the libertiniſm of his private life, had ſubjected him to the ſuſpicion of being no ſtranger to the conſpiracy of Cataline.

If the mind of Cæſar was ſoftened and refined by the principles of Epicurus, that of Cato was formed and confirmed in the rigid ſchool of Zeno; the ſevere virtues of his anceſtors were the conſtant object of his emulation, and the auſtere ſpirit of the celebrated cenſor ſeemed revived in his deſcendant: Even his enemies confeſſed with admiration the unblemiſhed integrity of his life; and if in Cæſar the wretched ever found a protector, in Cato the wicked were certain of meeting with an inflexible judge. In years they were nearly equal, and were both inflamed with the ſame thirſt of fame; but they purſued it by different paths: The former aſpired to gain a great and glorious reputation in arms; the latter by a ſcrupulous attention to virtue, and a religious regard for juſtice, extorted the veneration of his fellow citizens. The

firſt was jealous of the glory of the Roman empire, becauſe he hoped one day to govern it; the laſt was ſteadily attached to his country, becauſe he believed it more free than any other.

The arguments of the rival orators were ſuch as might have been expected from their different diſpoſitions and religious tenets: While Cæſar endeavoured to avert the execution of the conſpirators, he affected to reprobate their guilt, and to conſider their puniſhment as inadequate to their crimes; "Death," ſaid he, "is the relief of the "miſerable, and leaves behind it no ſenſe either "of good or evil; it cannot therefore be deemed "a puniſhment; and to inflict it againſt the in-"ſtitutes of our anceſtors, may prove a danger-"ous example in a free ſtate, where power ſome-"times falls into bad hands. Though no ſuch "danger can be apprehended from ſuch a conſul "as Cicero, yet in other times, and under other "conſuls, none can tell how far oppreſſion may "be diſguiſed under the forms of juſtice; the "precedent eſtabliſhed, and the ſword once drawn, "it is difficult again to ſheathe it.

"Our anceſtors, conſcript fathers, though de-"ficient neither in prudence nor bravery, diſdained "not to obſerve the arms, the laws, and cuſtoms "of the neighbouring nations, and to imitate "each in whatever it excelled. They borrowed

"many

" many of their weapons from the Samnites, and " their enſigns of magiſtracy from the Tuſcans; " from the Greeks they derived that law which " puniſhed the treaſon of a citizen with death; " but as the empire encreaſed, the danger of en- " truſting any magiſtrate with ſo high a preroga- " tive became more apparent, and exile was " deemed by our foreſathers a ſufficient atone- " ment for the guilt of a Roman citizen. And " certainly they, who from ſuch ſmall beginnings " could raiſe this mighty empire, muſt in virtue " and wiſdom have excelled us who ſcarcely can " preſerve what they ſo worthily acquired.

" Are we then to releaſe theſe criminals, and " ſend them away to animate by their preſence " the rebellious followers of Cataline? Far from " it! It is my opinion that their eſtates ſhould be " confiſcated, and their perſons confined in the " ſtrongeſt and moſt faithful of our municipal " towns; and let it be declared, that whoever " ſhall hereafter move the ſenate and people in " their favour, ſhall be deemed as involving the " welfare of the ſtate, and as endeavouring to un- " dermine the conſtitution of the republic."

If the arguments of Cæſar ſeemed for a mo- ment to influence to pity the ſenate, the languid ſpirit of the aſſembly was revived by the ardour of Marcus Cato. That virtuous citizen painted

in

in glowing colours the fatal conſequences of cautious or dilatory meaſures. "Cæſar," ſaid he, "regards, I perceive, as a fiction whatever has "been inculcated to us reſpecting a future ſtate. "But we are not, conſcript fathers, enquiring "what is the proper puniſhment of the crime, "but how we may defend the republic from the "danger that menaces it. In the name of the "immortal gods I call upon you, who have al-"ways had your magnificent houſes and your "villas, your ſtatues and your pictures, more at "heart than the intereſt of the commonwealth, I "call upon you to ſtand forth in defence of your "country, if you would preſerve thoſe things you "are ſo fond of, and enjoy without interruption "that voluptuous indolence you appear ſo ena-"moured of. It is propoſed indeed to ſecure the "perſons of the conſpirators in the municipal "towns; but is Rome the only reſidence of the "factious and the profligate? Both within and "without the walls our enemies are numerous. "While Cataline with fire and ſword is haſtening "to your gates, you heſitate whether you will "cut off or ſpare his aſſociates, who are taken "with the torch in their hands, and the dagger "at your breaſt. You muſt ſtrike thoſe who are "now in your power, if you mean to intimidate "thoſe who are advancing to ſupport their de-

"ſigns.

" ſigns. It is not the fate of Lentulus you de-
" cide, but that of the army of Cataline. It is
" therefore my opinion, that ſince the crimi-
" nals have been convicted, both by teſtimony
" and their own confeſſion, of a deteſtable trea-
" ſon againſt the republic, they ſhould ſuffer the
" puniſhment of death according to the cuſtom of
" our anceſtors."

The remonſtrances of Cato, the conſideration of their own and the public danger, awakened the ſenators from their lethargy; a ſentence of death was immediately paſſed on the culprits, and the execution of it was devolved on Cicero. Attended by a ſtrong guard of the patrician and equeſtrian order, the conſul conveyed the unhappy Lentulus and his aſſociates through the forum to the common priſon; the crowd followed in ſilent aſtoniſhment, and beheld in awful conſternation, a patrician of the Cornelian family, of the firſt rank in the republic, and who had himſelf been inveſted with the conſular dignity, led away in bonds, to periſh, without any formal trial, under the hands of the public executioner. The apprehenſions of a reſcue ſhortened the ſuſpence of the criminals; and as Cicero returned from enforcing the decree of the ſenate, he proclaimed to the multitude the fate of the conſpirators in the expreſſive words, " *They have lived.*" Popular pity or applauſe are

generally the emotions of the moment; and the caprice of the crowd, which had juſt bewailed the deſtiny of the criminals, now hailed with clamorous approbation, *as the preſerver of his country, as the ſecond founder of Rome,* the magiſtrate who had adviſed and directed their execution.

On the confines of Hetruria, at the head of twelve thouſand followers of ferocious manners, and whoſe reſolutions were as deſperate as their fortunes, the impatience of Cataline had accuſed the tardy meaſures of his aſſociates at Rome. Inſtead of the intelligence of their ſucceſs, he received the melancholy tidings of their execution; and in their fate already anticipated his own. With three legions, the prætor Metellus in his rear guarded the paſſes of the Apennines, and precluded his eſcape into Gaul: With a ſtill more formidable army, the conſul Antonius, who had been allured by Cicero to withdraw himſelf from the councils of the conſpirators, advanced in front, and ſecured from inſult the capital. The haughty mind of Cataline diſdained flight; and his ſituation allowed not the means of retreat. He perhaps flattered himſelf that the inclinations of Antonius might ſtill favour his enterprize; and he determined to ſtake his hopes on a deciſive battle. His addreſs to his ſoldiers was expreſſive of his own and their condition; and he endeavoured rather

rather to inflame them with the thirſt of vengeance than to animate them with a confidence of victory, or inſpire them with the expectation of ſafety.

But whatever advantages Cataline might hope to derive from the ancient friendſhip of Antonius, were diſappointed by the pretended or real indiſpoſition of the conſul; and in his abſence, the command of the forces of the republic were devolved on his lieutenant, Petreius, an officer of approved fidelity, ſkill, and courage. The conflict was fierce and bloody. The followers of Cataline were actuated by rage and deſpair; the legions of Petreius were ſupported by a confidence in their numbers, in their diſcipline, and in the juſtice of their cauſe. Their efforts proved at length ſucceſsful; and the loſs of ſome thouſands of the legionaries was atoned by the almoſt total extinction of their adverſaries. Yet amidſt defeat the rebels maintained the reputation of undaunted courage; each fell in his proper poſt; and no carcaſe was found marked with a diſhonourable wound. Nor was the daring ſpirit of Cataline leſs conſpicuous in the laſt hour than it had been through the whole courſe of his life: He called to mind his high quality, and the ſtation to which he had aſpired; and caſting a furious look of deſpair on his bro-

ken ranks, he precipitated himſelf into the thickeſt of the legions. His body was found at a diſtance from his own ſoldiers, and amidſt a pile of ſlaughtered enemies, ſtill breathing, and retaining the ſame fierceneſs of countenance in death for which he had been remarkable in life.

Chapter the Twenty Fourth.

STATE OF PARTIES AT ROME.—INFLUENCE OF CRASSUS. —OF POMPEY.—TRIUMPH OF THE LATTER.—RETREAT OF LUCULLUS.—CÆSAR IS APPOINTED TO THE GOVERNMENT OF LUSITANIA.—ON HIS RETURN DECLARES HIMSELF A CANDIDATE FOR THE CONSULSHIP. NEGOCIATES AN ALLIANCE WITH POMPEY AND CRASSUS.—FIRST TRIUMVIRATE.—CÆSAR IS CHOSEN CONSUL.—AGRARIAN LAW.—IS APPOINTED BY THE PEOPLE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF GAUL.—BESTOWS HIS DAUGHTER JULIA ON POMPEY.—THE TRIUMVIRS DISCONTENTED WITH CICERO.—CHARACTER OF CLODIUS.—ATTACK ON CICERO.—PUSILLANIMITY OF THE LATTER.—HE RETIRES INTO EXILE.—CÆSAR ASSUMES THE COMMAND OF GAUL.—HIS VICTORIES OVER THE HELVETII.—DEFEATS THE GERMANS COMMANDED BY ARIOVISTUS.—REDUCES SEVERAL CANTONS OF THE BELGÆ.—OVERCOMES THE NERVII, AND ATTUACI.—BEHAVIOUR OF CICERO IN EXILE.—LAWLESS CONDUCT OF CLODIUS.—MOTION FOR THE RECALL OF CICERO.—RESISTED BY CLODIUS.—THE VIOLENCE OF THE LATTER IS OPPOSED BY FORCE BY

MILO.—CICERO IS RECALLED BY THE UNANIMOUS SUFFRAGE OF THE CENTURIES.

U. C. 692, 693. THE conſulſhip of Cicero was the glory of his manhood, and the favourite theme of his old age: Amidſt ſtorms and quickſands he had ſteered the veſſel of the ſtate with courage and dexterity; and when on the expiration of his authority, inſtead of the uſual oath, that *he had diſcharged the truſt repoſed in him with fidelity*, he ſolemnly ſwore *that he had ſaved the republic from deſtruction*; the acclamations of the people confirmed the ſacred aſſeveration, and their tumultuous gratitude pronounced *that he had ſworn truly*.

Yet even amidſt the applauſes of his fellow-citizens and the exultation of the moment, the penetrating mind of Cicero could not be blind to the cauſes which urged impetuouſly the ruin of the Roman republic; The fate of Cataline had protracted, it could not avert, the ſubverſion of the conſtitution; a ſmall number of citizens engroſſed all power, and diſpoſed, as intereſt or inclination dictated, of the honours of the magiſtracy, the command of armies, and the government of provinces.

With the ſilent accumulation of his riches, the influence of Craſſus had been gradually extended; and

and ſome eſtimation may be formed of his wealth from his own declaration, that no man ought to be reckoned opulent who could not himſelf maintain an army. The myriads of the indigent and diſſolute which a vaſt and luxurious capital contained, were taught to reſpect the hand which relieved their neceſſities or adminiſtered to their pleaſures; and the treaſures of Craſſus and the venality of Rome might ſufficiently juſtify the former in aſpiring to the ſovereignty of the latter.

But the fame of Pompey overſhadowed the reputation, and the eſtimation of his atchievements more than balanced the advantages, which Craſſus derived from his wealth. From the conqueſt of Aſia, he ſlowly directed his march towards Italy; nor could the ſenate behold without ſecret anxiety, the approach of a popular commander at the head of a formidable army, which had contributed to his glory, and had been gratified by his liberality. But the fears of that aſſembly were diſſipated by the moderation of Pompey. At Brunduſium he diſmiſſed his troops, and proceeded to Rome with the ſimple equipage which his rank of proconſul demanded. More covetous of admiration than power, in the ſplendor of his triumph he indulged his natural oſtentation. In the long liſt of his conqueſts were reckoned, Pontus, Arme-

nia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Syria, Cilicia, Meſopotamia, Phœnicia, Judæa, Arabia, Scythia, and Crete. Among the people and potentates ſubdued, were the Baſtarni, Mithridates, and Tigranes; among the captures, a thouſand fortreſſes, nine hundred cities reduced, eight hundred galleys taken, and above two millions of men made priſoners. Amidſt the trophies and images borne before the victor to dazzle the eyes of the multitude, even the ſenate might contemplate with inward ſatisfaction the more ſubſtantial proofs of victory. Twenty thouſand talents, or near four millions ſterling were depoſited in the public treaſury; and it was proclaimed, that by his arms the revenue of Aſia had been increaſed from fifty millions of drachmas, to eighty-five millions, or about two millions and a half ſterling.

The addreſs of the victorious general to the people was received with leſs applauſe than the celebration of his triumph. He ſtudiouſly involved himſelf in the language of reſerve and myſtery; and while he endeavoured to avoid offending any party, he acquired the confidence of none. "His ſpeech," ſays Cicero, "was neither agreeable to the poor, nor acceptable to "the rich; it diſappointed the ſeditious, yet gave "no ſatisfaction to the honeſt."

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The actions of Lucullus might with juſtice have been oppoſed to the pretenſions of Pompey: The courage and conduct of the former had opened to the latter the conqueſt of the Eaſt; but although it is probable that Lucullus could not recollect without ſecret reſentment the arts by which he had been ſuperceded, yet his open diſguſt, on obſerving the turbulent and diſtracted ſtate of Rome, induced him to decline all future competition, and to devote the remainder of his days to a life of learned eaſe, which might have been eſteemed truly noble and elegant if it had not been ſullied by too great a tincture of Aſiatic ſoftneſs and Epicurean luxury.

While Lucullus breathed the tranquil air of retirement, and Pompey repoſed beneath the ſhade of his laurels, the active ſpirit of Cæſar diſdained the calm retreat of the former, and aſpired to tear the wreath from the brows of the latter. On the expiration of his office as prætor, he ſucceeded to the government of Luſitania; in his largeſſes to the populace he had not only waſted his private fortune, but had contracted debts to the incredible amount of one million two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. To a common obſerver his affairs muſt have appeared deſperate; but the empire of Rome was the object of Cæſar's ambition, and his embarraſſments were ſurpaſſed by the boldneſs

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of his deſigns and the extent of his abilities. Craſſus became his ſurety for conſiderable ſums to the moſt urgent of his creditors; and as he paſſed a village on the Alps, to aſſume the adminiſtration of his province, "Here too," was the ſcornful obſervation of one of his attendants, "are probably parties, and conteſts for power." "Doubtleſs," replied Cæſar, "and I had rather "be the firſt man in this village than the ſecond "in Rome."

The fire of ambition had hitherto been tempered by the love of pleaſure; but from the moment that Cæſar aſſumed the government of Luſitania, he ſteadily kept in view the immenſe reward he aſpired to. In the civil adminiſtration of his province he ſupported the character of juſtice and vigilance; in his military enterpriſes he acquired the reputation of ſkill and courage. After waging a ſucceſsful war againſt the barbarians of the frontier, he returned to Rome poſſeſſed of ſums ſufficient to diſcharge his incumbrances, and of glory ſufficient to juſtify his pretenſions to the dignity of conſul and the honours of a triumph.

To ſue for the former his preſence was abſolutely neceſſary in the city; yet while he ſolicited the latter, the laws of the republic compelled him to remain without the gates. The manly mind of Cæſar preferred the ſolid to the ſpecious;

cious; he relinquiſhed his hopes of a triumph, entered Rome, and declared himſelf a candidate for the conſulſhip.

The encroaching ſpirit of Cæſar had not eſcaped the obſervation of the ſenate, and the ariſtocratic party beheld with anxiety the rapid aſcendancy he had acquired over the minds of the multitude. To encounter their oppoſition the fertile genius of Cæſar propoſed the reconciliation of Pompey and Craſſus; he already ſhared the friendſhip and confidence of both; and at his powerful ſuggeſtions the rival leaders conſented to ſuſpend their enmity, to unite their intereſts, and to promote together the election of Cæſar: This league, from the number which compoſed it, was termed the *Triumvirate*; their combined influence was irreſiſtible; the name of Cæſar was firſt on the liſt of conſuls; but the addreſs and exertions of the ariſtocracy prevailed ſo far as to join with him Bibulus, a patrician devoted to the ſenate, and by whoſe means they hoped to fruſtrate the ambitious deſigns of Cæſar. U. C. 694.

They were ſoon taught how vain was the reſource on which they depended; and ſcarce had Cæſar aſſumed the enſigns of his new dignity before he propoſed to confirm his popularity by an act for dividing the waſte lands in Campania among the moſt indigent of the citizens. The

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act in itſelf was unexceptionable, but the tendency of it was to extend the influence of him who had framed it; as ſuch it was oppoſed by Cato and ſeveral of the moſt illuſtrious of the ſenate, and finally rejected by that aſſembly. But Cæſar was far from being diſcouraged at an event which he had foreſeen, and probably wiſhed for. He appealed to the people, the ſource of all authority; the oppoſition of Bibulus was vanquiſhed by the union of Pompey and Craſſus with his colleague. "If," ſaid Cæſar, addreſſing himſelf to Pompey, "any one ſhould oppoſe this law by "force, will you defend it?" "If any one," was the inconſiderate reply of Pompey, "ſhall "preſume to lift up a ſword againſt it, I will lift "up both ſword and ſhield." The law was ratified by the tumultuous voices of the people; but while the gratitude of the multitude was ſolely directed towards Cæſar, the confidence of the ſenate was for ever withdrawn from Pompey.

From the paſſing of the Agrarian law the authority of Bibulus was conſidered as an empty ſhadow, and all power was engroſſed by his more able and more enterpriſing colleague. The latter determined to avail himſelf of the favourable moment; and to open his road to permanent greatneſs, by the only means by which it could be attained, the government of a powerful province, and the command of a diſciplined army.

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To ſecure the capital from the ambitious enterpriſes of any popular general, no military ſtation was ſuppoſed to exiſt within the limits of Italy; but ancient Italy was underſtood to extend only from the ſea of Tarentum to the Arnus and the Rubicon. Beyond theſe boundaries, on the north-weſt, all thoſe rich tracts on both ſides the Apennines, and within the Alps, which compoſe the modern dutchies of Ferrara, Bologna, Modena, Milan, the ſtates of Piedmont and Venice, with Carniola, and the whole of Lombardy, were formed into one province, and diſtinguiſhed by the title of Ciſalpine Gaul.

It was to the adminiſtration of this province that Cæſar aſpired, as uniting the double advantages of furniſhing him with an army, and enabling him from its vicinity to the capital to occupy by ſurpriſe the ſeat of government, whenever his deſigns were ripe for ſuch an attempt.

But in conſequence of a regulation, known by the title of the Sempronian law, the diſtribution of the provinces was ſtill the prerogative of the ſenate; and Cæſar was too well aware of the jealouſy of that aſſembly to hope they would entruſt him with arms which he might turn againſt themſelves. The people were a more ready engine; and one of his creatures, the tribune Vatinius, on a rumour that the Helvetii menaced the frontier

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of Gaul, propoſed in a public aſſembly to ſuſpend the Sempronian law, and to name Cæſar as pro-conſul of Ciſalpine Gaul and Illyricum for five years, with the command of three legions. The ſenate endeavoured in vain to elude the appointment, by offering to confer on him the ſuperintendance of all the foreſts throughout the empire; and ſenſible that he had diſcerned the artifice, they ſtrove to diſarm his reſentment by joining to his government of Ciſalpine, that of Tranſalpine Gaul, with the addition of another legion. "Now indeed," ſaid Cato, who ſeems early to have penetrated the ambitious deſigns of Cæſar, "you have taken to yourſelves a king, "and have placed him with his guards in your "citadel."

Yet the conceſſions of the ſenate were far from conciliating the regard of Cæſar; he deſpiſed their feeble malice, and openly declared that he had prevailed in every ſuit, not by their favour but in direct oppoſition to their inclinations. To maintain by force what he had extorted from their weakneſs, he filled the ſtreets of Rome with his armed retainers; he rapidly aſſembled three complete legions within the Alps, that if driven from the capital he might retain the poſſeſſion of his province; and while he himſelf eſpouſed Calphurnia, the daughter of Piſo, by beſtowing his

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own daughter Julia on Pompey, he ſtrengthened by the bonds of private connexion, the league of public intereſt which he had formed with that powerful leader. "Provinces, armies, and king-"doms," exclaimed the inflexible Cato, "are "made the dowries of women; and the empire "itſelf an appendage of female proſtitution."

One citizen ſtill remained whoſe penetration could not eaſily be eluded, and whoſe eloquence might ſucceſsfully oppoſe the projects of the triumvirs. The love of praiſe is perhaps inſeparable from great minds; but the vanity which darkened the character of Cicero expoſed him as the conſtant dupe of flattery. As long as Pompey found that celebrated orator neceſſary to his deſigns, he had condeſcended to ſoothe him by every expreſſion of admiration or regard: "I have "indeed ſerved my country, but this man has "preſerved it." But no ſooner did the former imagine his power firmly eſtabliſhed by the confederacy he had entered into, than he was deſirous of removing to a diſtance a ſhrewd and vigilant obſerver. In pleading for Marcus Antonius, his colleague in the conſulſhip, and who was accuſed of extortion in Macedonia, Cicero had ſeized the opportunity of lamenting the ſtate of the republic, governed by a cabal, who ruled by violence, and in contempt of law. The inſinuation was loudly

loudly reſented by Cæſar: "This man," ſaid he, "is equally indefatigable in villifying the reputa-"tion of others, as in extolling his own." The conſent of Craſſus was readily obtained to the chaſtiſement of that preſumption which had violated the ſanctity of their league; and the diſpoſition of Publius Clodius offered a ready engine to the wiſhes of the Triumvirs.

The extraction of Publius Clodius was derived from the moſt illuſtrious chiefs of the republic; but their degenerate deſcendant was diſtinguiſhed more by his vices than by the nobility of his birth, the gracefulneſs of his perſon, or the vivacity of his wit. With all the advantages of nature he had a mind incredibly depraved; was fierce, inſolent, audacious; an open contemner of gods and men, and valuing nothing that either nature or the laws allowed; even diſdaining honours in the common forms of the republic; and capable only of reliſhing pleaſures which were impious, adulterous, and inceſtuous. He had corrupted the army of Lucullus, though his brother-in-law; and debauched his wife, though his own ſiſter: He had accuſed Cataline as guilty of rapine, and for a ſhare in the plunder had connived at his eſcape.

But his violation of the awful and myſtic ſacrifices of the Bona Dea had completed the infamy

famy of his character: From thoſe ceremonies every thing that bore even a maſculine appearance was religiouſly excluded; yet Clodius, who was enamoured of Pompeia, the wife of Cæſar, contrived, when according to annual cuſtom ſhe preſided over theſe rites, to introduce himſelf in the habit of a woman. His voice betrayed him to a female ſervant; a cry of amazement and horror proclaimed his guilty intruſion; he eſcaped the immediate vengeance of the ſex whom he had inſulted, but he was expoſed to the juſtice of his country. He found his ſafety in the venality of his judges; and ever afterwards nouriſhed a deep reſentment againſt Cicero, who had appeared at the trial as an evidence, and proved the preſence of Clodius at Rome, when a variety of his witneſſes had ſworn that on the ſame morning they had ſeen him at Interamna, a city near ſixty miles from the capital.

The conduct of Cæſar on this occaſion was ſuch as might have been expected from that able politician; he ſacrificed his reſentment to his ambition; when ſummoned to bear evidence againſt Clodius, he aſſerted he was entirely ignorant of the affair, yet he repudiated his wife; and when aſked his reaſons for parting with her, "the wife "of Cæſar," replied he, "ought not to be ſuſ-"pected."

The ſource of his moderation was ſoon revealed in his meaſures, and his connection with Clodius. He had from the firſt conſidered that daring and factious patrician as likely to become the uſeful inſtrument of his political projects; and he was deſirous of rendering his enmity to Cicero the means of gratifying his own reſentment. By his influence Clodius was adopted into a plebeian family, as the neceſſary qualification for his ſtanding for the tribuneſhip; and ſoon after the intereſt of the triumvirs ſecured his election to the office of tribune.

Though Cicero was no ſtranger to the implacable hatred of Clodius, his vigilance had been diſarmed by the affected diſſenſions between that reſtleſs patrician and the new chiefs of the commonwealth. The adoption of Clodius, it was pretended, had no other object than to qualify him for an embaſſy to the court of Tigranes: The aſtoniſhed orator beheld with ſurpriſe and diſmay his ancient and inveterate enemy armed with the tremendous weapons of tribunitian power; and it was with ſecret indignation he perceived too late, that the boaſted exploits of his conſulſhip were to be converted into the pretext for his deſtruction.

It was the wiſh of Cæſar rather to humble than complete the ruin of Cicero; he offered him an aſylum from the vengeance of the furious tribune,

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in the capacity of one of his lieutenants in Gaul. But the fears of Cicero were again ſoothed by the friendly and treacherous aſſurances of Clodius, who dreaded leſt his deſtined victim ſhould eſcape; He probably alſo depended on the promiſes of Pompey; and could not but regard with diſguſt a ſituation ſo little ſuitable to his former dignity. His refuſal determined Cæſar to leave him to his fate; and Clodius, throwing aſide the maſk, ſtood forth confeſſed in all his former enmity.

A variety of popular edicts had preceded that which was intended to overwhelm the fortunes of Cicero; and it was not until the tribune had firmly eſtabliſhed himſelf in the favour of the people, that he ventured to propoſe a law which interdicted from fire and water whoever had taken the life of a citizen, without a formal trial. The guilt of Lentulus and his aſſociates had long been forgotten in the public commiſeration; and the ſervices of Cicero were only recollected as ſo many inſtances of unwarrantable ſeverity. The tide of popular favour was turned; and the voice of the multitude now unanimouſly ratified the law which menaced the life of the man whom they had ſo lately hailed as the ſaviour of the republic.

Inſtead of reſiſting with vigour, or meeting with manly reſolution, a ſentence which might involve

his fortune but could not darken his glory, Cicero in an inſtant abandoned himſelf to the moſt abject deſpair, and the moſt humiliating ſolicitations. In a mourning habit, his unavailing entreaties awakened the contempt inſtead of exciting the pity of his enemies; and though his perſon was protected from inſult by a noble train of youthful patricians, with the younger Craſſus at their head, who attended on his ſteps, and added dignity to his diſtreſs, yet his reputation was ſeverely wounded by his puſillanimity. He found himſelf betrayed by Pompey, and deſerted by the conſuls Gabinius and Piſo, the creatures of the triumvirs: The counſels of Lucullus prompted him to defend himſelf by arms; but Cato, and the graver ſenators, admoniſhed him not to ſtain the fame he had acquired by the effuſion of blood, and to prefer the peace of the capital to his own intereſts. Their advice was better ſuited to the gentle diſpoſition of Cicero; he conſented to a voluntary exile; and after a ſhort repoſe in the neighbourhood of Brunduſium, he embarked for Greece, and fixed his reſidence in the city of Theſſalonica.

U. C. 695. The flight of Cicero ſeemed to eſtabliſh the power of the triumvirs; and Cæſar, content with the advantages he had obtained, prepared to acquire to himſelf more noble triumphs over the enemies of his country. Beyond

yond the Alps, the principal parts of Gaul which acknowledged not the ſovereignty of Rome, were occupied by the Aquitani, the Celtes, and the Belgæ: The territories of the firſt extended from the Pyrenees to the Garonne, the ſecond from the Garonne to the Seine, and the third from thence to the Meuſe and Scheld. Each of theſe nations differed in language, eſtabliſhments, and cuſtoms; and were divided into a variety of ſeparate cantons and independent communities.

Among the barbarous tribes of the Celtes, the Helvetii were diſtinguiſhed by their more ferocious manners and more active courage: Their natural levity, or thirſt of ſpoil, had induced them to burſt from their original limits between mount Jura and the Alps, and to deluge the lower and more fertile plains of Gaul. The terror of their arms had afforded the pretence for the appointment of Cæſar to the command of that province: The diligence of the pro-conſul juſtified the choice of the people; he aſſumed his ſtation at the head of the legions, inceſſantly preſſed their march, in leſs than three weeks encamped on the borders of the Rhone, and beheld on the oppoſite banks the Helvetian hoſt, conſiſting of three hundred and fifty thouſand ſouls, ninety-two thouſand of which were diſtinguiſhed by the title of warriors.

The firm countenance of the Roman army, and

the commanding language of Cæſar, awed the Barbarians; after ſome feeble attempts they abandoned the paſſage of the Rhone, directed their deſtructive march to the right, and penetrated into Gaul over the craggy heights of mount Jura. They had ſcarce refreſhed their weary limbs in the waters of the Soane before they were ſurpriſed by the appearance of the Roman eagles. One diviſion, ſeparated from their countrymen, periſhed by the ſword; and the reſt were admoniſhed by their fate to repair the injuries they had offered to the allies of Rome, and to give hoſtages for their future behaviour. The high ſpirited barbarians ill brooked the tone of ſuperiority, and their defiance was expreſſed in the conciſe reply, "That it "was the cuſtom of the Helvetii to receive, and "not to deliver, hoſtages."

The ardour of Cæſar ſuffered them not long to wait for an opportunity of oppoſing their ſtrength and valour to the arms and diſcipline of the legions. The banks of the Soane were the theatre of a conflict obſtinate and bloody; and it was not until night that victory was finally decided in favour of the Romans; two hundred thouſand of the Helvetii were extended on the field, and one hundred and thirty thouſand implored the mercy of the conqueror: The policy of Cæſar permitted them to return to their native country; and the

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charge of ſupplying them with proviſions, until they could provide for themſelves, was committed to the Allobroges.

The victory over the Helvetii might have ſatisfied a mind leſs inſatiate of glory than Cæſar's; but his enterpriſing genius already aſpired to new conqueſts; he liſtened with pleaſure to the deputies of the tribes who inhabited the banks of the Loire and the Soane, and who implored his protection againſt Arioviſtus, a German chief, who had availed him of the diſſenſions of the Gauls, had entered the country as an auxiliary, had ſubdued thoſe he had been called upon to defend, and oppreſſed the neighbouring ſtates by continual reinforcements of his rapacious countrymen.

The ſoldiers and even the officers of Cæſar were far from partaking on this occaſion the ardour of their general; they prepared with reluctance for new toils, and their murmurs expreſſed their terrors of the hardy offspring of the north, whoſe large and maſculine limbs were probably exaggerated by the fears of their Gauliſh allies. Their preſumption was ſternly reprimanded by Cæſar; and their pardon was only granted on the promiſe of extenuating their offence in the day of action. Their alacrity was ſtimulated by a ſenſe of their former miſconduct; and after a rapid march of ſeven days they pitched their tents in ſight of the

army of Arioviſtus, which amounted to one hundred and twenty thouſand men.

The ſudden arrival of Cæſar might diſconcert the meaſures but did not diſmay the mind of the German chief: Before he had recourſe to arms he was willing to try the effect of negociation; and his propoſal of a conference was readily accepted by the proconſul. A ſpacious plain between the hoſtile armies was choſen for the ſcene of their interview; Arioviſtus was reminded by Cæſar of the favours he had already received from the republic, and of the reſpect that was due to her allies; and he was required, if he could not compel thoſe Germans who had already croſſed the Rhine to return home, at leaſt to prevent any further intruſions of his countrymen.

The anſwer of the barbarian leader was far from barbarous, and ſhewed him not only acquainted with the laws of nations but with the ſtate of parties at Rome. "I am," ſaid he, "by your own "account, in alliance with the Romans; why "ſhould that alliance, which is a ſafeguard and "honour to every one elſe, be a loſs and misfor-"tune to me? My countrymen have paſſed the "Rhine, not to oppreſs the Gauls but to defend "their leader: If ſtrangers are to be admitted "here, the Germans, as the firſt occupiers, have "a right prior to the Romans. But we have each

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"of us our province; what do Roman armies on "my territory? I diſturb no poſſeſſion of yours; "muſt I account to you likewiſe for the uſe which "I make of my own? I know," added he with an expreſſive look, "that the republic is not in-"tereſted in this quarrel, and that by cutting you "off I ſhould perform an acceptable ſervice to "many of your countrymen. But I ſhall take no "part in your internal diviſions; leave me; make "war where you pleaſe; I ſhall not interpoſe in "any matter which does not immediately concern "myſelf."

Whatever hopes of accommodation had prevailed, were extinguiſhed by the firmneſs of Arioviſtus; and it is more than probable that Cæſar received with ſecret ſatisfaction a reply which opened to his ambition the proſpect of new trophies. For ſeveral days the hoſtile armies contented themſelves with watching each other's motions; the Germans at length gave way to their intemperate valour; they attempted to force the lines of the Romans; were repulſed with ſlaughter; were attacked in their turn, and compelled to yield to the weight and diſcipline of the legions. Arioviſtus, with a few attendants only, eſcaped from the diſaſtrous field; traverſed the Rhine in a ſmall canoe, and imparted to the barbarous tribes of Germany the fatal tidings of the deſtruction of their countrymen.

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The defeat of Arioviſtus cloſed the firſt campaign of Cæſar. The legions were ſuffered to breathe from their toils; but the mind of their leader was inceſſantly employed in planning new enterpriſes, and in revolving his future conqueſts. Two additional legions were raiſed by his orders in Italy; the eſtabliſhments of the old were completed; and at the head of eight Roman legions, beſides numerous bodies of auxiliaries, on the return of ſpring he reſumed the operations of war.

U. C. 696. The rapid progreſs of the Roman arms had awakened the general jealouſy of the Belgæ; and during the winter a powerful confederacy had been formed of the independent cantons in the northern extremities of Gaul. From the diſtricts watered by the Oiſe, the Scheld, and the Meuſe, three hundred and fifty thouſand warriors were aſſembled to maintain their own independence, and repreſs the ambition of Rome.

To encounter this formidable hoſt, Cæſar had traverſed the level countries of modern Champagne and Burgundy, and advanced to the banks of the Aiſne; yet the numbers and reputation of the enemy induced him to proceed with caution; he fortified his camp, and patiently awaited until the want of ſubſiſtence might oblige them to ſeparate. The imprudence of the barbarians ſoon exhauſted the neighbouring country; they reſolved

each

each to retire to his own home, with the vain promiſe if any of their cantons were attacked, that the whole ſhould aſſemble again for their common defence.

In their retreat their rear had been expoſed to the active vigilance of Cæſar; who in his march towards the North received the ſubmiſſion of the Suiones and Bellovaci, preſſed forwards to the Sambre and Meuſe, and detached young Craſſus with a conſiderable body of cavalry, to occupy thoſe cantons on the ſea-coaſt which compoſe the modern provinces of Normandy and Britany.

The Nervii, one of the fierceſt of the Belgic nations, and who inhabited that tract of country which now forms the dutchy of Hainault, had heard with indignation the unworthy conduct of the Suiones and the Bellovaci: The trumpet of reſiſtance was ſounded through their woods and moraſſes; ſuch as were unfit from their ſex and age to carry arms, were diſmiſſed to a place of ſafety; and ſixty thouſand warriors, who delighted in danger, lined the woods which fringed the banks of the Sambre. Their intentions had not eluded the penetration of the Roman general, but the fury of their charge ſtaggered for a moment the firmneſs of the legions; the preſence and example of Cæſar reſtored the day; the arrival of Labienus with the rear decided the fate of the barbarians;

barians; of four hundred chiefs only three eſcaped, and of the whole hoſt only five hundred ſurvived to implore the mercy of the victor.

The Attuaci, who boaſted their deſcent from the Cimbri and Teutones, names which had once been tremendous to a Roman ear, had already began their march to join the Nervii, when they received the melancholy tidings that their allies were no more. Deſpairing of being able alone to reſiſt the conqueror, they had ſought refuge, to the amount of fifty thouſand, in one of their ſtrong holds; they were immediately inveſted by the Roman army; their perfidious temerity prompted them to attack the camp of the beſiegers at the moment that they pretended to fulfil the terms of capitulation; they were eaſily repulſed; four thouſand were the victims of their deſpair, and the reſt were ſold into ſlavery as the juſt puniſhment of their treachery.

In two campaigns the victorious arms of Cæſar had penetrated to the Meuſe and the Scheld, and ſubdued the eaſtern frontier of Gaul to the banks of the Rhine. While he enjoyed the acclamations of his ſoldiers, and the admiration of Rome, the mind of Cicero was torn by thoſe contending paſſions which agitate the weak and the unfortunate; he arraigned his own precipitation, the counſels of his friends, and even glanced at the

juſtice

juſtice of Providence. He now found how difficult it was to carry into practice that philoſophy which his eloquence had ſo ſucceſsfully inculcated; and his unavailing lamentations converted into contempt ſome portion of the juſt pity which his innocence and misfortunes had inſpired.

Yet at the moment that he ſeemed the moſt abandoned to deſpair, he had moſt reaſon to expect the return of proſperity, and the reſtoration of his ancient dignity. His friends were numerous, faithful, and zealous; and the convulſions of the capital added weight to their ſolicitations, and revived the favourable ſentiments which had once been entertained of his conſulſhip.

The mind of Clodius was incapable of receiving with moderation the advantages he had gained; he had removed Cato from Rome, under pretence of a commiſſion to reduce the kingdom of Cyprus into a Roman province; he had filled the ſtreets with an armed and lawleſs band, who executed without reluctance his ſanguinary edicts; and elated by ſucceſs, he preſumed to oppoſe himſelf to the influence and power of Pompey. He had endeavoured to ſet at liberty the young Tigranes, who was ſtill the priſoner of the latter, and propoſed to reſtore him again to his kingdom: The inſult was deeply felt and ſtrongly reſented; the remonſtrances of Pompey alienated from Clodius

dius the ſupport of Cæſar; and to repreſs the pride of the frantic tribune, it was reſolved to promote the recall and re-eſtabliſh the fortunes of Cicero.

Though the motion was known to be acceptable to the triumvirs, was ſupported by the dignity of the conſuls, was received with applauſe by the ſenate, and was ſtrenuouſly recommended by eight of the tribunes, yet ſuch were the reſources of Clodius that for ſeveral months he reſiſted the weight of theſe united bodies. He prevailed on two tribunes to interpoſe their negatives, occupied the ſtreets at the head of his armed ſatellites, and filled the Forum with heaps of ſlain. To oppoſe his lawleſs violence, Milo, a tribune firmly attached to the intereſts of Cicero, purchaſed a band of gladiators; the hoſtile parties were frequently expoſed to long and deſperate encounters, and the populace already inured to and enamoured of blood, enjoyed the ſanguinary ſpectacles which their conflicts preſented to them in every corner of the city.

The tranquillity of the capital had been violated, and the authority of the ſenate had been ſuſpended; but the infraction of the firſt, and the interruption of the laſt, had united againſt Clodius all who feared for their property, or were deſirous of maintaining civil government. The recall of

Cicero

Cicero was resumed with vigour; the citizens of Rome were summoned to support his interests from the most distant parts of Italy: Their numbers overwhelmed all further resistance; and Cicero, after sixteen months exile, was restored to his country by the unanimous suffrage of all the centuries.

"This," says the ingenious historian of the life of the celebrated Roman orator, "was one of the "last genuine acts of *free* Rome; one of the last "efforts of the *public liberty* exerting itself to do "honour to its defender and its patron; for the "union of the triumvirate had already given it a "dangerous wound, and the dissension which not "long after ensued entirely destroyed it."

Chapter the Thirty-Second.

CONDUCT OF CICERO.—COMMISSION ASSIGNED TO POMPEY TO PROVIDE FOR THE SUBSISTENCE OF THE CAPITAL.—OPPOSITION OF THE ARISTOCRATIC PARTY TO THE TRIUMVIRS.—POMPEY AND CRASSUS ARE CHOSEN CONSULS.—DIVISION OF THE PROVINCES.—CÆSAR IS CONFIRMED IN THE GOVERNMENT OF GAUL.—POMPEY IS APPOINTED TO SPAIN.—CRASSUS TO SYRIA.—THE LATTER PREPARES TO INVADE PARTHIA.—IS SOLEMNLY DEVOTED TO DESTRUCTION BY THE TRIBUNE ATTEIUS.—OPERATIONS OF CRASSUS IN THE EAST.—HE RAVAGES MESOPOTAMIA.—IS BETRAYED BY ACBARUS.—HIS DEFEAT AND DEATH.—PTOLOMY IS EXPELLED FROM EGYPT.—IS RESTORED BY GABINIUS.—PROGRESS OF CÆSAR IN GAUL.—HE INVADES BRITAIN.—SECOND INVASION OF BRITAIN.—DEFEAT OF CASIVELANUS.—HIS SUBMISSION.—REVOLT OF THE GAULS.—THEY ARE FINALLY SUBDUED.

IN the ſevere ſchool of adverſity Cicero had been taught the ſalutary maxims of prudence; he

he was no longer the ardent patriot, eager to vindicate the independence of the republic; he had felt the ſcourge of power; and appeared deſirous of preſerving the ſhadow of his former dignity, by ſeconding the meaſures and courting the favour of the triumvirs.

When Pompey dreaded the zeal and eloquence of the orator, he had, in violation of the moſt ſolemn aſſurances, abandoned him to the reſentment of Clodius; and when his own conſequence was invaded by the factious tribune, he had recommended and ſtrenuouſly promoted the recall of Cicero; yet the latter conſented to aſcribe to friendſhip what he well knew was ſuggeſted by intereſt. The importation of corn into Italy had been lately in a great meaſure ſuſpended; and to avert the diſtreſs with which the capital was menaced, it was propoſed by Cicero to inveſt Pompey with pro-conſular power over all the provinces, that he might provide for the ſubſiſtence of Rome. The commiſſion was approved by the ſenate, was ratified by the people, and received by Pompey with ſatisfaction, as the means of balancing the formidable appointment of Cæſar. U. C. 697

Conſcious that any competition for power muſt be decided by the ſword, the ſagacity of Cæſar had employed his troops in perpetual warfare;

and the ferocious tribes which inhabited the coaſts of modern Normandy, and which had attempted to ſhake off the Roman yoke, were awed or chaſtiſed by the terror of his name or the vigour of his arms. While he waged a diſtant war with fierce and numerous enemies, his vigilance was extended to the ſtate of parties and factions in the city. From his winter ſtation at Lucca his active and reſtleſs ſpirit fomented the intrigues of the capital; the wealth which he had acquired in Gaul was diligently tranſmitted to promote his influence in Rome; and his victories were not more fatal to the liberties of the barbarians than to thoſe of his own countrymen.

U. C. 698. The recall of Cicero had revived the languid ſpirit of the ariſtocratic party; the return of Cato from Cyprus added ſtrength to their cauſe; and they again reſolved to oppoſe with firmneſs the united influence of the triumvirs, whoſe formidable league inſulted the freedom of the republic. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who was animated by an inflexible enmity to Cæſar, and who was ſteadily attached to the ſenate, was encouraged by that aſſembly to declare himſelf a candidate for the conſulſhip. Alarmed by the returning ſpirit of independence, Pompey and Craſſus haſtily repaired to Lucca, to concert with Cæſar new meaſures for the ſupport of their power.

It was agreed, that the two former ſhould offer themſelves for conſuls in oppoſition to Domitius. Could the legal ſuffrages of the people have been collected they would probably have been expoſed to the mortification of a repulſe; but the forum and the ſtreets were filled with their armed adherents; and the rage of faction was let looſe; as Domitius, accompanied by Cato, proceeded to the place of election they were attacked by a band of hireling ruffians; the ſlave who went before the former was killed, and the latter was wounded in the arm. The fortitude of Domitius yielded to the danger; and in a partial and tumultuous aſſembly the laws were violated, and the conſular authority was occupied by Pompey and Craſſus.

The principal object of the new conſuls was to ſecure to themſelves a real ſupport in the poſſeſſion of rich and powerful governments. The advantages which Cæſar had acquired by the adminiſtration of Gaul, were too conſpicuous to have eſcaped the riſing jealouſy of Pompey; and though the former was confirmed in that ſituation for five years more, with the command of eight legions, the latter obtained the government of Spain and Africa with four legions, and the important privilege of remaining at Rome, while his lieutenants Afranius and Petreius repreſented him abroad; to Craſſus was aſſigned Syria; and his ſanguine fancy already anticipated the wealthy ſpoils of the Eaſt.

On the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates the Parthian monarchy had riſen on the ruins of the Macedonian empire; and the feeble ſucceſſors of Alexander were ſupplanted by the royal race of Arſacides, whoſe hereditary name immortalized that of their founder. The kingdom was at this time in its full vigour, unbroken by defeat, uncorrupted by luxury, and was conſidered as the moſt formidable antagoniſt of the Roman republic. Its forces conſiſted almoſt entirely of cavalry; thoſe that were deſtined for regular charges were cloathed in complete armour of ſteel, and furniſhed with a lance; while thoſe who were employed to ſkirmiſh at a diſtance, and haraſs the enemy, were trained with unremitting diligence to the uſe of the bow. Confident in the ſwiftneſs of their horſes, and in the certainty of their aim, they were ſcarce leſs terrible in flight than in attack; and their exulting adverſaries in the moment of purſuit were frequently overwhelmed by a cloud of barbed arrows.

The mind of Craſſus, intent on the wealth of Parthia, had overlooked the arms by which it was defended. His preparations already announced his intentions to plant the ſtandards of the republic beyond the Euphrates; but the people and the ſenate regarded with open diſapprobation a war founded on avarice and injuſtice: Their murmurs had already reached the ear of Craſſus; and apprehenſive

prehenſive that his commiſſion, might be revoked, he urged with diligence his levies, and haſtened to take the field. As he paſſed with his army through the gates of the city, his march was arreſted by the awful voice of the tribune Atteius. With his head veiled, and an altar with fire before him, the ſacred magiſtrate of the Roman republic devoted to the infernal deities the rapacious chief and his martial followers. The enlightened underſtanding of Craſſus might deſpiſe the imprecations of the tribune; but the legions confeſſed the powerful influence of ſuperſtition; they heard with diſmay the ſolemn denunciation; and in gloomy ſilence they already revolved their own fate in the invocations of the tribune, and the impious temerity of their general.

With inauſpicious omens and dejected followers, Craſſus traverſed Macedonia, croſſed the Helleſpont, and aſſumed the government of Syria; a feeble incurſion into Meſopotamia, and the reduction of an inconſiderable fortreſs, afforded an opportunity to his ſoldiers to ſalute him with the title of *emperor*; inſtead of purſuing his advantages he led back his troops into Syria. But if the legions were permitted to repoſe during the inclemency of winter, the mind of their leader was ſuperior to the temptation of reſt: The riches of the temple of Jeruſalem ſtimulated his U. C. 699.

inſatiate deſires; the ſacred depoſit which had been reſpected by Pompey was ſeized by Craſſus; while in the oppreſſion of the opulent and defenceleſs Syrians he exerciſed that active vigilance which ought to have been diſplayed againſt the enemies of his country.

The invaſion of Meſopotamia had inſpired the Parthian monarch rather with the ſentiments of indignation than of terror. To revenge the devaſtation of a peaceful and unarmed province, and to aſſert the dignity of their ſovereign, from the Oxus to the Euphrates, the martial ſquadrons of Parthia were rapidly aſſembled: But Orodes confided not ſolely in the numbers and ardour of his hoſt; and the arms of the Parthians were leſs fatal to the Romans than their arts.

U. C. 700. With ſeven legions, four thouſand horſe, and a numerous band of auxiliaries, on the return of ſpring, and impatient for the plunder of the Eaſt, Craſſus again croſſed the Euphrates. Inſtead of accepting the invitation of his ally the king of Armenia, and directing his march through the Armenian mountains, or of liſtening to the counſels of his quæſtor Caſſius, who urged him to purſue his courſe along the banks of the Euphrates, he rapidly preſſed forwards through the ſandy deſerts of Meſopotamia. He repoſed an implicit confidence in Acbarus, an Arabian chief whom

whom the gold of Parthia had allured to act a part full of treachery and danger. As the friend of the Romans he entered their camp, and ſoon acquired a fatal aſcendancy over the mind of the proconſul. He deſcribed the Parthians as trembling at the name of the Roman legions; inflamed the avarice of Craſſus by a ſplendid deſcription of their wealth; and urged him to redouble his ſpeed to ſeize the rich reward of his martial labours. The ſuſpicions and remonſtrances of his officers were rejected by Craſſus; and from his flattering and golden dreams of eaſy conqueſt and boundleſs ſpoil, he was awakened by the intelligence of the deſertion of Acbarus and the approach of the Parthian hoſt.

The wide and ſandy deſerts of Meſopotamia were favourable to the rapid evolutions of the Parthian cavalry; and the Roman legions, oppreſſed by heat and thirſt, beheld themſelves betrayed by the temerity of their leader into a ſituation where valour and ſkill could but little avail them. The predictions of Atteius ſtill ſounded in their ears; and already vanquiſhed by their own terrors, they moved with ſlow and doubtful ſteps towards the enemy. Their ardour was rouſed and their courage tranſiently revived by the voice and example of the younger Craſſus, a youth of the faireſt hopes, and who had been trained to elo-

quence by Cicero, and to arms by Cæſar. At the head of the Roman and Gauliſh horſe, he rapidly and furiouſly charged the Parthian army; the artful flight of the latter tempted his inconſiderate purſuit; a cloud of duſt ſcreened their motions from his ſight; and while he exulted in victory, he was encompaſſed and aſſailed on every ſide by the deadly arrows of his adverſaries. In a vigorous attempt to cut his way through the enemy and join his father, he was repulſed with ſlaughter; and after having beheld the deſtruction of moſt of his followers, and having rejected the counſels of the faithful remnant to ſave himſelf by flight, he yielded to the extremity of his fortunes, and eluded the cruelty or compaſſion of the barbarians by a voluntary death.

The Roman infantry, in order of battle, and in anxious ſilence, had awaited the fate of their cavalry: Their ſuſpence was of ſhort duration; and their fears were ſoon confirmed by meſſengers from the younger Craſſus, which informed his father of his danger, and urged him to march to his relief. With dejected minds and countenances the legions obeyed the ſignal to advance; and the ſhouts and appearance of their enemies ſoon convinced them of the deſtruction of their countrymen, and of their own deſperate ſituation.

"Of what family was that young man, and "who were his parents?" were the inſulting queſtions

tions of the barbarous victors, as they expoſed the head of the younger Craſſus to the ſight of the fainting Romans. But on this occaſion the proconſul aſſumed the language and conduct of a hero: As he rode through the ranks he loudly admoniſhed the diſmayed troops, that the loſs of an individual was of little importance to the republic. "This misfortune, fellow ſoldiers," exclaimed he, "concerns me only; the glory of the Roman "empire remains yet entire, ſo long as you are in "a condition to defend it; and if you feel for my "loſs in ſo brave a ſon, let your compaſſion be "ſhewn in the chaſtiſement of our barbarous ene-"mies." A faint ſhout proclaimed rather the apprehenſions than the hopes of the legions; incapable of compelling their enemies to a cloſe engagement, they were expoſed on every ſide to the deſultory attacks and barbed arrows of the Parthians; and night alone afforded a ſhort reſpite to their diſtreſs, and ſuſpended the active enmity of their adverſaries.

While the Parthians devoted to repoſe, or waſted in exceſs, the hours of darkneſs, the Romans revolved in ſleepleſs anxiety the difficulties by which they were ſurrounded. The expectations of victory were no more, and their councils were confined to the humble hopes of ſafety. They agreed to abandon their camp, their ſick, and their wounded;

wounded; and to attempt to gain the friendly walls of Carrhæ. Their diſorderly march was frequently interrupted by their own fears, and the imaginary purſuit of the enemy. But the Parthians, ſenſible from the nature of their troops of their advantages in day, remained inactive during the night. On the return of light they perceived the retreat of the Romans, entered the camp without reſiſtance, maſſacred thoſe who had been incapable of flight, and never ſuffered their horſes to reſt until they halted before the gates of Carrhæ.

Within the walls of Carrhæ the Romans might have defied the deſultory attacks of the Parthians, but they were compelled to yield to the approaches of famine. The proviſions within the city, and which could be collected from the neighbouring country, were quickly conſumed, and it was neceſſary again to reſume their march. A long ſeries of imprudence and error had exhauſted the patience and obedience of the ſoldiers; and ſcorning the authority of the pro-conſul, they offered the command of the army to Caſſius. The latter, though preſſed by his general to accept it, declined the dangerous honour; and the legions, delivered from all reſtraint, ſeparated as their judgment or inclinations prompted. A numerous body under the conduct of Caſſius traverſed the plains, and reached, after conſiderable loſs, the frontiers

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of Syria; the reſt, under Craſſus, attempted to gain the mountains, in hopes to eſcape into Cappadocia or Armenia. They were purſued with diligence by the Parthian general; their ſeditious clamours compelled their leader to ſubmit to a perſonal conference which the enemy had inſiduouſly propoſed: Craſſus was reduced to intruſt his life and dignity to the faith of the barbarians; but the latter was only preſerved at the expence of the former. Convinced of the deſign of the victors to lead him in chains to the throne of the Parthian monarch, he preferred death to a ſtate of bondage; and was, after a feeble reſiſtance, maſſacred with all his attendants.

It was not only in Parthia that the flames of war were kindled by the avarice of the Romans; Ptolomy Auletes had been expelled by his ſubjects from the throne of Egypt, and had ſought an aſylum at Rome: His ſolicitations obtained from the ſenate a decree for his reſtoration; but the nobles, who dreaded leſt this commiſſion ſhould be entruſted to Pompey, eluded the decree by an application to the myſterious volumes of the Sybils. Theſe admoniſhed the Romans, "to beware how "they attempted to reſtore a king of Egypt by "force." The admonition was reſpected until Gabinius obtained the government of Syria. Bankrupt in his fortunes, and ready for any lawleſs enterpriſe,

enterpriſe, he liſtened with alacrity to the promiſes of Ptolomy; conducted him to Alexandria at the head of a formidable army, and gratified his vengeance by the deſtruction of his enemies. But the ſenate reſented with juſt indignation the inſult which had been offered to their own authority and to the ſacred commands of the Sybils; Gabinius was impeached on his return; and though acquitted through the connivance of his accuſers, was on a ſecond accuſation found guilty of oppreſſion in his government, and condemned to perpetual baniſhment.

U.C. 698. While the glory of Rome was clouded in the eaſt by the temerity of Craſſus or the avarice of Gabinius, her fame was diffuſed throughout the weſt by the conduct and courage of Cæſar. The levity of the Gauls had been repreſſed, and the arrogance of the Germans chaſtiſed, by the vigour and rapidity of his arms. The Uſipetes and Tenchteri, who had preſumed to croſs the Rhine, were the victims of their raſhneſs, and were extinguiſhed in the diſaſtrous enterpriſe: Four hundred thouſand barbarians periſhed by the ſword, or were overwhelmed in the waters of the Meuſe and the Rhine; and even the Romans, inured as they were to ſlaughter and inſatiate of the blood of their enemies, could not hear without ſome emotions of horror the ſanguinary recital.

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The broad ſtream of the Rhine oppoſed a feeble barrier to the progreſs of the victor; and beyond that river, amidſt their woods and moraſſes, the Suevi, whoſe independent cantons boaſted an hundred thouſand warriors, were taught to tremble at the Roman name: Even the ſea itſelf was not capable of checking the enterpriſing genius of Cæſar; and from the ſhores of Gaul, his reſtleſs ſpirit revolved the paſſage of the channel and the invaſion of Britain.

In the modern harbours of Calais and Boulogne a numerous fleet of tranſports was diligently collected; and Cæſar, with two legions, committing himſelf to the mercy of an unknown ſea, in the ſucceſsful navigation of a few hours reached the Britiſh coaſt. His landing was oppoſed with ſavage fierceneſs by the natives; and the Romans, compelled to quit their veſſels before they reached the ſhore, were embarraſſed amidſt the waves by the weight of their armour, were aſtoniſhed by the tremendous noiſe of the ſurf, and were diſmayed by the armed chariots and fiery horſes of the barbarians. Their fortitude was reſtored and their ardour rekindled by the voice and example of their general; the valour of the Britons was in vain oppoſed to the diſcipline of the legions; the former were defeated in a ſeries of deſultory conflicts: To the language of ſubmiſſion was added the offer

of

of hoſtages. Yet the ſituation of Cæſar ſeems to have been ſcarce leſs critical than that of thoſe whom he had invaded; the tranſports which conveyed his cavalry had been diſperſed in a ſtorm; part of the fleet in which the legions had paſſed over had been wrecked on the coaſt; he dreaded to remain during the winter encloſed in a hoſtile iſland, without magazines for the ſubſiſtence of his army, expoſed to autumnal gales and ſtormy ſeas; and without waiting for the hoſtages, he embarked his troops with precipitation, and with the firſt favourable wind regained the ſhores of Gaul.

Whatever might be the relation of Cæſar himſelf, he was ſenſible that the circumſtances of his retreat had caſt a ſhade of diſgrace on the invaſion of Britain. To retrieve his honour, on the return of ſpring, Boulogne was the ſcene of a ſecond embarkation; five hundred and ſixty tranſports were occupied by five legions and a conſiderable body of auxiliaries, and were convoyed by twenty-eight armed gallies. The preſent harbour of Sandwich afforded a ſecure ſtation for the fleet, and the aſtoniſhment of the natives allowed the troops to land without oppoſition.

U. C. 699.

The various tribes of Britons were animated by the love of freedom, but they were deſtitute of the ſpirit of union. Caſſivelanus, a Britiſh prince, whoſe

whoſe narrow territories were confined to the northern banks of the Thames, preſumed firſt to withſtand the progreſs of the invaders. His defeat diffuſed wide the terror of the Roman arms; and deſerted by his countrymen, he was compelled to reſume the humble tone of a ſuppliant. The moderation of the victor was probably the reſult of the poverty of the vanquiſhed. "Britain," ſays Cicero, in one of his letters to Atticus, "poſſeſſes "not a grain of ſilver, nor any thing but ſlaves, "of whom you will ſcarce expect any ſkilled in "muſic or letters." That iſland, which has ſince become the ſeat of ſcience and literature, of agriculture and commerce, the ſplendor and opulence of whoſe merchants excite the envy and admiration of ſurrounding nations, was regarded with contempt and diſguſt by the poliſhed maſters of the fertile regions of Italy. The ſubmiſſion of Caſſivelanus was accepted; hoſtages were delivered for the faithful performance of his engagments; and Cæſar, after having reſtored the honour of his arms by a conqueſt more rapid and ſpecious than permanent or ſolid, embarked again his legions for the coaſt of Gaul.

The ſtate of Gaul demanded indeed his immediate preſence; the fierce and fickle tribes which inhabited it, already prepared to throw off the yoke to which they had U. C. 700, 702.

had ſo recently ſubmitted. The Roman legions diſperſed in winter quarters were attacked on every ſide: A conſiderable body which had been poſted between the Rhine and the Meuſe, were betrayed by the arts and oppreſſed by the numbers of the barbarians; the camp of Quintus Cicero, the brother of the orator, was aſſailed at the ſame inſtant, and only preſerved by the active vigilance of Cæſar. Yet the Roman general was taught by reſiſtance how difficult it was to extinguiſh the love of freedom in minds which had been immemorially trained to independence. Three bloody and ſucceſſive campaigns exerciſed the patience, the valour, and the ſkill of Cæſar; new forces were demanded from Italy, and a legion was lent by Pompey to the defence of the commonwealth, and the ſupport of his rival. The hardy ſavages of Gaul and Germany, before they yielded, often diſputed the field, and often renewed the conteſt. The Romans, though commanded by Cæſar, were compelled to abandon the ſiege of Gergovia, the capital of the Averni. But this diſgrace was ſoon effaced in the blood of the Gauls. In a ſeries of well-concerted enterpriſes the ſtrength of the barbarians was broken, their cities were ſacked, their armies routed, and the flower of their youth deſtroyed; they conſented to acknowledge the ſuperior genius and majeſty of

Rome,

Rome, and by ſubmiſſion to avert their final deſtruction. The various tribes were united by the powerful hand of Cæſar beneath one government; and Gaul, which had ſo long been conſidered as the terror, became the peaceful and obedient province, of the Roman republic.

Chapter the Thirty-Third.

STATE OF PARTIES AT ROME.—CORRUPTION OF THE PEOPLE.—MILO STANDS FOR CONSUL.—TUMULTS THAT ENSUE.—HE ENCOUNTERS AND KILLS CLODIUS.—POMPEY IS DECLARED SOLE CONSUL.—TRIAL OF MILO.—HE IS DEFENDED BY CICERO.—HE IS CONDEMNED.—RETIRES INTO BANISHMENT.—CÆSAR OBTAINS THE PRIVILEGE OF SUING FOR THE CONSULSHIP IN HIS ABSENCE.—CATO OFFERS HIMSELF AS CONSUL, AND IS REJECTED.—INCURSION OF THE PARTHIANS REPELLED BY CASSIUS.—APPOINTMENT OF CICERO TO THE GOVERNMENT OF CILICIA.—HIS CONDUCT IN THAT PROVINCE.—INTRIGUES OF CÆSAR.—CHARACTER OF CURIO.—THE SENATE BECOME JEALOUS OF THE DESIGNS OF CÆSAR.—CÆSAR GAINS CURIO TO HIS PARTY.—HE DISPATCHES MARK ANTONY TO ROME.—CHARACTER OF ANTONY.—SECURITY OF POMPEY.—MOTION TO RECALL CÆSAR IS OPPOSED BY CURIO.—IS RENEWED AND CONFIRMED BY THE SENATE.—OPPOSITION OF THE TRIBUNES ANTONY AND CASSIUS.—DECREE OF THE SENATE TO PROVIDE FOR THE SECURITY OF THE REPUBLIC.

REPUBLIC. — ANTONY, CASSIUS, AND CURIO QUIT ROME IN DISGUISE, AND REPAIR TO CÆSAR.

IF in the purſuit of military glory the humanity of Cæſar may be arraigned, his activity muſt be applauded. He boaſted that in eight campaigns he had reduced as many hundred cities; ſubdued three hundred nations; defeated in battle three millions of men, two-thirds of whom had periſhed by the ſword, or had been ſold into ſlavery. Yet ever vigilant and reſtleſs amidſt the tumults of the camp, his eyes had been inceſſantly directed towards the capital: The fall of Craſſus had deſtroyed the political balance between himſelf and Pompey; the death of Julia, the daughter of the former, and the conſort of the latter, had diſſolved the bonds of private connexion. The ſeeds of jealouſy began already to appear between theſe formidable rivals, whoſe influence overwhelmed the authority of the ſenate; and the treaſures which Cæſar had extorted from the vanquiſhed provinces of Gaul were tranſmitted to ſupport his intereſts, and foment the intrigues of Rome.

That city, rent by contending factions, and ſunk in luxury and venality, ſeemed to court the dominion of a maſter. The people, inflamed by hatred of the ariſtocracy, and deſirous only of bread

and public ſhows, exalted to the higheſt offices thoſe who laviſhed their patrimonies in entertainments and ſpectacles; while the nobles indulged the commons in every ſpecies of exceſs, and relied on the oppreſſion of the provinces for the re-eſtabliſhment of thoſe fortunes which they had waſted in corrupting the capital.

In the competition for the conſulſhip which ſucceeded that of Pompey and Craſſus, the profuſion of the candidates had been carried to a degree dangerous and unprecedented: The traffic for votes had been without diſguiſe or ſhame; an office had been opened for the bribery of the people, who came in the order of their tribes to receive the money; and ten millions of ſeſterces, or eighty thouſand pounds ſterling, were offered to any perſon who ſhould ſecure the vote of the firſt century, or, as it was called, the *Prerogativa*.

U. C. 701. It was in vain that new regulations were framed to reſtrain a venal populace and an ambitious and unprincipled nobility. Scipio, Hypſeus, and Milo, each aſpired to the conſular dignity: The firſt had recently married his daughter, the widow of the younger Craſſus, to Pompey; the ſecond had acted as quæſtor to that powerful leader; but the laſt had diſdained to court the favour of the triumvirs, had ſupported at the expence of his own the ſinking fortunes of the ariſtocracy,

ariſtocracy, had defended the innocence of Cicero againſt the rage of Clodius, and had equally expoſed himſelf to the fury of that frantic demagogue, and to the reſentment of Pompey.

To the diſtribution of money was joined the reſource of popular tumults: The parties of the competitors oppoſed each other with arms; the factions of Milo and Hypſeus engaged in and polluted with their blood the *ſacred way*; and in attempting to quell the riot, the conſul Calvinus was not only inſulted but wounded.

Yet the wiſhes of the ſenate, and the profuſion of Milo, ſeemed at length to ſecure his ſucceſs; and he impatiently awaited the moment of election, which his competitors ſtudiouſly delayed, when his hopes were blaſted, and the rage of faction rekindled, by a new incident as unexpected as it was fatal.

As Milo was going to Lanuvium, a town about fifteen miles from Rome, and of which he was chief magiſtrate, he met Clodius returning from his country ſeat at Aricia. Milo was in a carriage with his wife Fauſta, the daughter of Sylla, and a friend; he had a numerous eſcort amounting to ſome hundreds of ſervants in arms, and in particular was attended by two noted gladiators, Eudamus and Birria. Clodius was on horſeback, with a retinue of thirty ſervants, who were armed

alſo. It is probable that the encounter was accidental, ſince the chiefs had already paſſed without obſervation, when the inſolence of Birria, inured by his profeſſion to violence, became the ſignal of an inſtant fray. In endeavouring to protect his ſervants from the attack of the gladiator, Clodius had received a wound in the ſhoulder, and had retired to an adjacent inn that it might be dreſſed. Milo was ſoon informed of the event; his mind was in a moment inflamed by the thirſt of revenge, and alarmed by the danger of ſuffering his enemy to excite the city by the relation of this new provocation; he encouraged his people to purſue their advantage: The doors of the inn were forced, the followers of Clodius were diſperſed, and his lifeleſs body, pierced with a number of wounds, was indignantly caſt into the highway.

In this ſituation the corpſe was found by a ſenator of the name of Tedius, who from motives of party or humanity conveyed it to Rome. The intelligence was immediately diffuſed through the capital; the body was expoſed to the populace in the Forum; and Fulvia, the widow of Clodius, as ſhe pointed to the wounds of her ſlaughtered huſband, invoked the juſtice, and fanned the riſing fury of the multitude.

During ſeveral days the city ſeemed abandoned to the rage of a lawleſs crowd, and menaced with a general

a general conflagration. The flames of the Senate-houſe at length arouſed the ſenate from the ſtate of languor in which they had repoſed; and to reſtore the tranquillity of the capital the entire authority of the ſtate was veſted in the hands of Pompey, with the title of ſole conſul. The firſt meaſure of the new magiſtrate was the trial of Milo, who was defended by the eloquence and gratitude of Cicero. The Forum, the ſcene of judgment, was ſurrounded by an armed force; and the firmneſs of the orator was overwhelmed by the clamours of the faction of Clodius, and the unuſual ſight of military guards, commanded by an officer who was ſuppoſed to be prejudiced againſt his client. He ſpoke feebly, and concluded abruptly. Yet however the mind of Cicero might be impreſſed with terror, Milo himſelf in this alarming criſis ſtood at the bar with an undaunted countenance; and while every one elſe, in imitation of the ſenators, appeared in mourning, he alone retained his ordinary dreſs. He was condemned by thirty-eight voices againſt thirteen; and before ſentence was pronounced, being at liberty to withdraw, he retired into exile, and fixed his reſidence at Marſeilles. It was thither that Cicero ſent him a copy of the oration in his defence, which he had compoſed at leiſure, as an effort of his eloquence, and a ſpecimen of what

could be urged in the cauſe. The preſent was received with indifference by Milo as he ſat at dinner; and his contempt of the country that he was baniſhed from was proclaimed in the ſhort but ſarcaſtic expreſſion: "Had this ſpeech been "unfortunately delivered, I ſhould not now have "been eating ſuch excellent fiſh at Marſeilles."

The death of Clodius, the trial of Milo, and the power with which Pompey had been inveſted, had not eſcaped the wakeful attention of Cæſar. To keep pace with his rival he had demanded, that, ſince he was engaged in a diſtant and dangerous war, his preſence ſhould be diſpenſed with in ſuing for the office of conſul. His claim to this important privilege was openly reſiſted by Cato, but was ſucceſsfully ſupported by Cicero and Pompey; the former had too recently ſmarted to provoke again the reſentment of the powerful; and the latter could not with decency oppoſe the pretenſions of another, to thoſe unconſtitutional dignities which he had ſo frequently ſolicited himſelf.

The inſatiate deſire of Pompey for new and unprecedented honours, had alienated from him in a conſiderable degree the minds of thoſe who were ſincerely attached to a republican government. Yet ſome praiſe was due to the alacrity with which he had reſigned the authority that he had invidiouſly occupied; after having reſtored the

public

public tranquillity, he aſſociated with himſelf in the office of conſul, his father in-law Metellus Scipio, who had been the competitor of Milo; but at the ſame time he inſulted the juſtice of his country by ſuſpending the proſecution under which Scipio laboured, for corruption at the preceding election.

Among the candidates to ſucceed Pompey and Scipio, the name of Marcus Cato was moſt conſpicuous. This ſingular man, who preſerved amidſt the vices of a ſenſual and degenerate people the integrity and ſimplicity of his anceſtors, now aſpired to the faireſt reward of a virtuous conduct, the approbation of his fellow-citizens. But his auſtere manners were probably ill-ſuited to conciliate the eſteem of an indolent and profligate populace; his competitors, Marcellus and Sulpicius were ſupported by the influence of Pompey and Cæſar; their united exertions prevailed; and the rejection of Cato may be urged as a proof of the degeneracy of the times, and the declining ſtrength of the ariſtocratic party. U. C. 702.

From the defeat of Craſſus, the Roman and Parthian empires had watched each others motions with more than uſual vigilance. In the pride of victory, and to avenge the invaſion of Meſopotamia, Pacorus, the ſon of Orodes, had croſſed the Euphrates, and penetrated into the province of Syria.

Syria. He was compelled to retire with diſgrace from the walls of Antioch by the ſkill and courage of Caſſius; and in his turn was inſtructed, that any attempt to wage a diſtant war beyond the boundaries of a barren and deſolated frontier, might be fatal to the adventurous chief who attempted the unprofitable enterpriſe.

It was at the moment that the effeminate inhabitants of Rome liſtened with terror to the rumours of a Parthian invaſion, that Cicero aſſumed the government of Cilicia, a province whoſe vicinity moſt expoſed it to the ravages of the formidable rival of the republic. Unaccuſtomed to military operations, the native vigour of his mind deceived the expectations of his enemies: He occupied with diligence the paſſes of Mount Amanus; and was no ſooner informed of the retreat of the Parthians than he directed his attacks againſt a hardy race of freebooters, whoſe independence braved the menaces, and inſulted the ſecurity of the republic. Erana, their capital, yielded to his perſeverance; and afforded an opportunity to his ſoldiers to ſalute him with the title of *Imperator*, and to furniſh him with pretenſions to the honours of a triumph.

Yet the moſt glorious trophies of Cicero's government were erected on his civil adminiſtration. Cilicia, long harraſſed by the avarice or cruelty of former

former pro-conſuls, enjoyed a tranſient reſpite through the juſtice and lenity of Cicero. He declined for himſelf and his attendants all preſents, contributions, and even ſupplies of proviſions, which cuſtom or law had hitherto attached to the Roman governors: He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in his command by his humanity and condeſcenſion; and while his predeceſſors had endeavoured to reſtore their fortunes by the oppreſſion of thoſe whom they were appointed to protect, it was the ambition of Cicero to eclipſe his cotemporaries by a ſteady adherence to the maxims of juſtice and forbearance.

In the free and virtuous ages of Rome, power could not have been courted by methods more ſure or more noble: But in a diſtracted and degenerate republic, the people might coldly confeſs the probity of Cicero, while they loudly applauded the liberality or profuſion of Cæſar. That able leader beheld his deſigns rapidly advancing towards maturity; his legions, exerciſed in perpetual warfare againſt the Gauls and the Germans, were deſervedly eſteemed the beſt troops in the ſervice; the provincials, ſubdued by his arms, offered to his wiſhes a ready ſupply of hardy recruits and faithful auxiliaries; and his province, which extended to the banks of the Rubicon, allowed him an eaſy acceſs to the heart of Italy, and enabled him

him by a rapid march of a few days, to occupy the unſuſpecting and defenceleſs capital.

Even in that capital his adherents were numerous, vigilant, and enterpriſing. The penetration of Cæſar had diſtinguiſhed, and his generoſity had allured to his party, the moſt able and the moſt noble of the Roman youth. Above the reſt, Caius Scribonius Curio was conſpicuous for his illuſtrious extraction, his ſpirit, and his eloquence. But he was addicted beyond all meaſure or modeſty to the prevailing luxury and gallantries of a moſt diſſolute age. He had been conſidered as the leader of the younger nobility, as the admirer of Cicero, and as the ſtrenuous aſſertor of the authority of the ſenate againſt the power of the triumvirate: But upon his firſt taſte of public honours, his ambition and thirſt of popularity had engaged him in ſuch expence and prodigality, that to ſupply the magnificence of his ſhows and plays, he had not only diſſipated a conſiderable patrimony, but had contracted an immenſe debt; and the embarraſſed ſtate of his circumſtances rendered him a doubtful friend to a government, and to laws which ſupported the juſt claims of his creditors.

U. C. 703. While the rival parties rather ſilently than openly prepared for a conteſt, which was not only to involve the fortunes of the competitors but the freedom of the republic, the conſulſhip

ſulſhip of Marcus Marcellus and Servius Sulpicius had expired, and they were ſucceeded by Caius Claudius Marcellus and Æmilius Paulus. Claudius was nearly related to his predeceſſor Marcus Marcellus, and though inferior to him in eloquence and legal knowledge, was actuated by the ſame political principles, and equally attached to the intereſts of Pompey. Paulus was alſo expected to ſupport the party of the ſenate; but he was deſtitute of that fortitude which his colleague eminently poſſeſſed; and though probably ſuperior to the temptations of corruption, was not inſenſible to the emotions of vanity. To ingratiate himſelf with the multitude, and to adorn the capital with public buildings, Cæſar had remitted to Rome no leſs than fifteen hundred talents, or near two hundred and eighty thouſand pounds ſterling: The expenditure of this ſum was entruſted to Paulus; and flattered by this inſtance of confidence, the new conſul, from the adherent of Pompey, became the active and zealous partizan of Cæſar.

The rapid ſteps of Cæſar, and the repeated remonſtrances of Cato, at length awakened the ſenate to a ſenſe of the danger which menaced their own authority and the exiſtence of the republic. In the late conſulate it had been propoſed, that as the tranquillity of Gaul was eſtabliſhed, Cæſar

ſhould

ſhould be recalled from that government; or if his friends inſiſted on his being continued in his command, that he ſhould be deprived of the privilege which he had extorted of ſuing for the conſulſhip, without preſenting himſelf in perſon.

On this occaſion Pompey could not conceal his jealouſy of the growing influence of his rival. Though he affected to cenſure the violence with which it had been propoſed to recall an officer legally appointed, he acknowledged that Cæſar ought not to unite the government of a province and the command of an army with the dignity of conſul; but ſtill deſirous of preſerving the appearance of moderation, he prevailed on the ſenate to defer the immediate diſcuſſion of this important queſtion.

The motion of Marcellus and the declaration of Pompey were ſufficient indications to Cæſar of the impending ſtorm. Though in action rapid and deciſive, yet in council he looked forward to conſequences the moſt remote, and waited with patience the proper moment for the execution of his projects. He had augmented the original eſtabliſhment of his province from three to twelve legions; and already, by the weakneſs of the ſenate, he poſſeſſed the privilege of ſoliciting the firſt magiſtracy, and retaining the command of the moſt formidable army in the ſtate. He was ſenſible at the

the ſame time, that the late deliberations of the ſenate, however neceſſary to the preſervation of the republic, in revoking what once had been granted bore the appearance of injuſtice; and were likely to engage not only his army, but even the populace of Rome in the ſupport of his cauſe.

Three different parties divided and diſtracted the commonwealth: Beſides thoſe who ranked themſelves beneath the banners of Cæſar and Pompey, a ſlender band of real patriots, whoſe reputation was fortified by the name of Cato, wiſhed to guard the laws and liberties of Rome from the arts or violence of either faction. But leſs diſtinguiſhed for their numbers than for their integrity, they could only derive conſequence by joining that chief whoſe deſigns appeared leaſt dangerous to the republic. As a ſubject, the ambition of Cæſar had been notorious; as a magiſtrate, he had ſpurned every legal reſtraint; and had ſupported himſelf by popular tumults againſt the conſtitution of his country. It was the opinion of moſt that his thirſt of power was not to be ſatiated without the ſubverſion of all civil government; and that if his ſword prevailed, a ſcene of rapine and ſlaughter would enſue, far beyond what Rome had been afflicted with under the ſanguinary ſway of Sylla. The general fear and diſtruſt of

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the patricians were juſtified by the deſcription of his adherents; all who were overwhelmed with debts or infamy, who were obnoxious to the laws, or averſe to order, crowded to his ſtandard, or impatiently awaited the moment of his approach.

Pompey, it was true, had never ceaſed to embarraſs the ſtate by his intrigues, and had even invaded the laws by his avidity for extraordinary and unprecedented honours: Yet when poſſeſſed of power, he had employed it with moderation; he ſeemed to delight in receiving theſe ſingular truſts by the free choice of his country, and had often relinquiſhed them almoſt as ſoon as received. It appeared that he had never injured the commonwealth ſo deeply as in caballing with Cæſar; while the decency of his private life, the chaſtity of his manners, formed a ſtriking and favourable contraſt, when oppoſed to the licentious pleaſures in which his rival indulged himſelf; and inclined in his favour all thoſe who wiſhed to preſerve even the appearance of a republic, or hoped to avert the calamities with which the capital was menaced from a chief who was ſuppoſed equally fearleſs of danger and devoid of humanity; and from followers who had been habituated to blood, and who were ſtimulated by luſt and avarice.

But if the virtues of Pompey recommended him to the confidence and good opinion of the

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moſt deſerving of his fellow-citizens, the profuſion of Cæſar attached to him the moſt able and moſt enterpriſing of the Roman youth. The enmity of Curio was extinguiſhed, and his friendſhip purchaſed, at the immenſe price of ten millions of ſeſterces, or eighty thouſand pounds ſterling; yet the new proſelyte was permitted to continue the maſk of patriotiſm; and while he pretended to conſult only the advantage of the republic, he more effectually advanced the intereſts of Cæſar.

To ſecond the efforts of Curio, Mark Antony, deſtined afterwards to occupy himſelf a commanding ſtation in the Roman empire, was diſpatched from Gaul to Rome. He was the grandſon of the celebrated ſtateſman and orator who had periſhed in the proſcription of Sylla: His father had been honoured with one of the moſt important commiſſions of the republic, and had died with the character of a corrupt, oppreſſive, and rapacious commander: The ſon had launched out early into all the exceſs of riot and debauchery, and had waſted his whole patrimony before he had put on the manly gown. His comely perſon, lively wit, and inſinuating addreſs had rendered him moſt dear to Curio, who had involved himſelf on his account in a debt of near fifty thouſand pounds. Their intimacy had been interrupted by the mediation of Cicero, who pre-

vailed on the elder Curio to diſcharge the debts of his ſon, on condition that he ſhould ſeparate himſelf from Antony. The latter ever nouriſhed a deep reſentment of the injurious ſtipulation; and in revenge became one of the moſt active partizans of Clodius in his perſecution of Cicero. He afterwards quitted Rome to learn the art of war under Gabinius, who gave him the command of his horſe in Syria; where he ſignalized his courage in the reſtoration of Ptolomy, and acquired the firſt taſte of martial glory in an expedition undertaken in contempt of the laws and religion of his country. From Egypt he repaired to Cæſar in Gaul, whoſe camp was the ſure refuge of the needy, the deſperate, and the audacious. He there attained the reputation of a bold and ſkilful officer; and though immerſed in luxury, when neceſſity required, ſuddenly appeared hardy, vigilant, and intrepid. On his arrival at Rome, he declared himſelf a candidate for the tribunate; and in the poſſeſſion of that office, his courage and eloquence were ſucceſsfully employed to promote the deſigns of Cæſar, to whom he was attached by gratitude and inclination.

While Cæſar laboured to advance his projects by whatever means preſented themſelves, Pompey repoſed in ſecurity on the fame of his former atchievements. He had been attacked in Campania by

by a dangerous indiſpoſition; and the general joy which his recovery ſeemed to inſpire, impreſſed him with the fatal idea, that his popularity was too firmly eſtabliſhed to be ſhaken by the arts of his rival. When aſked, if Cæſar ſhould march to Rome, what army could oppoſe him? He ſcornfully replied, "In whatever part of Italy I ſtamp "legions will ariſe." And his confidence was increaſed by the report of his emiſſaries in Gaul, who deſcribed Cæſar's ſoldiers as impatient to deſert their leader, and ready on the firſt appearance of Pompey, to range themſelves under his banners.

However the inclinations of the ſenate might lean towards Pompey, they dreaded to provoke the immediate reſentment of Cæſar. A motion had indeed been made for the recall of the latter; but it was eluded by Curio, who while he harangued with well feigned ardour againſt the exorbitant powers which had been granted to Cæſar, attacked alſo the unconſtitutional authority which had been entruſted to Pompey. "Now," exclaimed he, "is the time to reduce this aſſuming "and arrogant man, while you have a perſon who "can diſpute his pretenſions, and who can wreſt "thoſe arms out of his hands, which he never "would willingly have dropped. If either is to "be diſarmed," added he, "both ſhould be:

"If only one army is diſbanded, we are cer-
"tainly the ſlaves of that which remains." The language of independence was welcomed by the acclamations of the people; and Curio was conducted from the ſenate to his houſe by an applauding multitude, who hailed him as the ſteady and impartial champion of his country's freedom.

But whatever might be the ſentiments of the populace, thoſe of the ſenate were neither doubtful nor diſguiſed. Their partial regard for Pompey was diſplayed in their reſolutions; under pretence of repelling an invaſion of the Parthians, they commanded each of the competitors to detach a legion to Syria. Pompey embraced the opportunity to recall the legion which he had formerly lent to his rival: At the ſame time that Cæſar complied with the demand, he was laviſh of his favours and careſſes to the ſoldiers and officers; to each private man he ordered a gratuity of two hundred and fifty denarii. But he no longer concealed his indignation when he learnt that theſe troops, inſtead of being ordered into the eaſt, were detained in Italy. He complained that he was betrayed by the artifices of his enemies: "Yet while," added he, "the republic is
"ſafe, and any hopes remain of accommodation,
"I will bear with any indignities rather than in-
"volve the ſtate in a civil war."

It was at this critical juncture that Caius Marcellus, the third of the name, with Lucius Lentulus, were choſen conſuls for the ſucceeding year. A rumour that the troops of Cæſar were already on their march towards Rome, allowed the former an occaſion of diſplaying that enmity againſt Cæſar by which his family was diſtinguiſhed: He directed new levies to be made throughout Italy; and in contempt of the oppoſition of Curio, while he preſented his ſword as conſul to Pompey, bade him employ it with the forces of Italy in the defence of the republic. It was received by Pompey with that air of modeſty which he well knew how to aſſume; and he anſwered with feigned reluctance, "That he ſhould obey his orders, when "no other expedient could be deviſed for the pre-"ſervation of the commonwealth."

Yet it is more than probable that Pompey already conſidered a civil war as inevitable: Such was his language to Cicero, who was returning from Cilicia, and with whom he had an interview at Naples. Even at Rome he openly avowed himſelf averſe to any accommodation. He declared, that if Cæſar ſhould obtain the conſulſhip, although he reſigned his command of the army, the ſtate was undone. But it was his opinion, that whenever a vigorous oppoſition was formed, the latter would chooſe to retain his province, and

drop his pretenſions to the dignity of conſul. "Yet ſhould he be ſo raſh," added he, "to de-"pend on his ſword, how contemptible muſt he "appear, a mere private adventurer, when op-"poſed by the authority of the ſenate and a re-"gular army under my command."

The forces which were already levied in Italy were indeed far from conſiderable; but that country had hitherto been eſteemed as the nurſery for ſoldiers for the whole empire, and multitudes it was ſuppoſed, on any emergency, could be ſuddenly embodied. In Spain, ſix complete legions and a numerous train of auxiliaries were devoted to the cauſe of Pompey; and he probably intended, if Cæſar made any attempt on Italy, that theſe ſhould paſs the Pyrenees, occupy Gaul, and while he himſelf oppoſed him in front, ſhould preſs upon his rear and cut off his retreat.

Confident in theſe reſources, Pompey revolved with apparent indifference and ſupineneſs the approaching conteſt; and his ſecurity was confirmed by the artifices of Cæſar. That able general had penetrated into the deſigns of his rival; and while he diſpoſed the ſtrength of the legions between the Pyrenees and the Alps, to protect Gaul againſt the Spaniſh army, he himſelf remained at Ravenna, the ſtation neareſt to Italy, with only the thirteenth legion and about three hundred horſe.

horſe. He had lately been viſited by Curio, with whom he had conſulted the future plan of their political operations; and who was now diſpatched again to Rome, with a letter addreſſed to the ſenate, which was preſented on the firſt of January, at the admiſſion of the new conſuls into office.

The letter, according to Cicero, was expreſſed in terms harſh and menacing, and contained in ſubſtance thoſe demands which the adherents of Cæſar had already publiſhed as the laſt hopes of accommodation. It required, that he ſhould be allowed to retain the honours which the Roman people had beſtowed upon him; that he ſhould be left upon an equality with others who were permitted to join civil offices at Rome with military eſtabliſhments in the provinces; and that he ſhould not be ſingled out as the ſole object of their diſtruſt and ſeverity.

Though the authority of the ſenate had been frequently invaded, its dignity had ſeldom been inſulted: The letter was conſidered as an arrogant attempt to dictate to that U. C. 704. aſſembly; it was even treated by many as an actual declaration of war; and though the perſeverance of the adherents of Cæſar prolonged the debates through ſeven ſucceſſive days, yet at length a decree was paſſed which declared him an enemy to his country, unleſs he diſbanded his army

before a certain day, and relinquiſhed the government of Gaul.

The reſolutions of the ſenate were ſuſpended by the negatives of the tribunes Antony and Caſſius; but the fortitude of that aſſembly was confirmed by the language and conduct of Pompey. It was determined to aſſume the habit of mourning, as in the times of public calamity; and after having in vain endeavoured to prevail on the tribunes by entreaties to withdraw their prohibition, it was reſolved to arm againſt them the power of the ſtate, and to iſſue the formidable decree which authorized the conſuls to provide for the ſafety of the republic.

So deciſive and alarming a meaſure filled Rome with general conſternation: The deſtruction of the Gracchi and the arbitrary execution of the aſſociates of Cataline ſtill remained impreſſed on the minds of the citizens; the tribunes Antony and Caſſius feared, or affected to fear, the ſame fate: The former, on being commanded to leave the ſenate, invoked the faith of gods and men; lamented that an authority which had hitherto been held ſacred, was no longer a ſecurity; and that thoſe whoſe counſels were directed to the preſervation of the empire were expelled with indignity from that aſſembly as the enemies of their country. In a prophetic ſtrain he foretold the wars

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and proſcriptions, the baniſhments and confiſcations with which the city was threatened: And imprecating the vengeance of the gods on thoſe who were the cauſes of theſe calamities, he ruſhed from the ſenate; and quitting Rome in diſguiſe, haſtened with Caſſius and Curio to implore the protection and inflame the reſentment of Cæſar.

Chapter the Thirty-Fourth.

CÆSAR DETERMINES TO INVADE ITALY.—ADDRESS TO HIS TROOPS AT RAVENNA.—PASSES THE RUBICON, AND SURPRISES ARIMINUM.—FLIGHT OF POMPEY AND THE SENATE FROM ROME.—CÆSAR BESIEGES AND REDUCES CORFINIUM.—HIS CLEMENCY.—INVESTS POMPEY IN BRUNDUSIUM.—RETREAT OF POMPEY INTO GREECE.—CÆSAR OCCUPIES THE CAPITAL.—SEIZES THE PUBLIC TREASURE.—QUITS ROME.—LAYS SIEGE TO MARSEILLES.—PENETRATES INTO SPAIN.—CAMPAIGN ON THE SEGRA.—DISTRESS OF CÆSAR.—ADDRESS WITH WHICH HE EXTRICATES HIMSELF.—CAPITULATION OF PETREIUS AND AFRANIUS.—CÆSAR RETURNS TO MARSEILLES.—CAPITULATION OF THAT CITY.—CORCYRA IS REDUCED BY POMPEY.—EXPEDITION OF CURIO.—POSSESSES HIMSELF OF SICILY.—INVADES AFRICA.—HIS FIRST SUCCESSES.—JUBA, KING OF NUMIDIA, ADVANCES TO THE SUPPORT OF VARUS, THE LIEUTENANT OF POMPEY.—CURIO'S ARMY IS SURROUNDED AND DEFEATED.—DEATH OF CURIO.

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THE jealouſy which had long been u.c. 704.
confined within the boſoms of Cæſar and Pompey now blazed forth with open violence; it was impoſſible that peace could any longer ſubſiſt between two implacable rivals, who neither deſired nor could truſt a reconciliation; it was viſible that only one could rule, and that the other muſt fall; that the freedom of the republic would be overwhelmed in the conflict; and that the Roman empire would ſoon be reduced by a civil war under the dominion of one maſter.

The decree which authorized the conſuls to provide for the ſafety of the commonwealth, was regarded by Cæſar as the immediate ſignal for hoſtilities. He aſſembled his troops at Ravenna, painted in lively colours the weakneſs and injuſtice of his enemies, his own ſervices, and the ingratitude of the ſenate: He exhorted them to defend the honour of their general, under whom they had for nine years advanced in a courſe of uninterrupted victory; had broken the ſtrength, and ſubdued the independent ſpirits of the Gauls; and had taught the fierce and martial tribes of Germany to reſpect the majeſty of the Roman eagle. His ſoldiers liſtened with pleaſure to the ſolicitations

tations of their favourite leader; they vowed to avenge his wrongs, and aſſert their own glory; and ſtrong in the affections of his followers, and confident in his own genius, Cæſar prepared by the celerity of his motions to anticipate the deſigns of his rival, and to improve the peculiar advantage of his own ſituation.

The ſhallow ſtream of the Rubicon alone divided the province of Gaul from ancient Italy. The vengeance of the gods had been ſolemnly denounced againſt the ambitious chief who ſhould preſume to paſs in arms the ſacred barrier. But the mind of Cæſar was ſuperior to the terrors of ſuperſtition; nor is it probable that on the banks of that river he heſitated on thoſe dangers and calamities which long muſt have been the ſubject of his ſecret meditations. By a rapid and ſilent march he occupied Ariminum, the firſt fortified place beyond the limits of his province; he was there joined by Antony and Caſſius, whom he preſented to his ſoldiers in the diſguiſe in which they had effected their eſcape from the violence of the oppoſite party. "Obſerve," ſaid he, "to "what extremities perſons of noble birth, veſted "with the ſacred character of tribunes, are re- "duced, for having ſupported their friends, and "for having pleaded the cauſe of an injured ar- "my." The ſoldiers anſwered with loud acclamations,

mations; and once more declared their readineſs to follow a leader whoſe liberality they had already experienced, and whoſe enterpriſe preſented to their hopes the ineſtimable ſpoils of Rome, and the luxuriant plenty of Italy.

While Cæſar advanced with a rapidity proportioned to the greatneſs of the occaſion, Pompey waſted the irretrievable moments in indolence and inactivity. He had relied on his own name and the authority of the ſenate; he had truſted to the advanced ſeaſon of the year, which approached the middle winter; and to the ſlender force of his rival, in appearance ill-ſuited to ſo vaſt an enterpriſe. He heard with aſtoniſhment that Cæſar had ſucceſſively been received into Ariminum, Arretium, Piſaurum, Faunum, and Auximum; that by the junction of theſe garriſons his martial train had been ſwelled into a formidable army, and that he was preſſing forward to occupy the ſeat of government, and to avenge the injuries that had been offered him.

He perceived too late how vain were the reſources on which he had depended. A general who in reputation was equal to himſelf, was at the head of troops who had vanquiſhed the barbarians of Gaul and Germany; the republic he found was but an empty name; and thoſe who compoſed it, though reſpectable at a diſtance, in the face of an enemy were timid, irreſolute, and diſunited.

Shame

Shame and disappointment succeeded to pride and confidence; he suspected the fidelity of the legions which had so lately served under Cæsar; nor could he venture to oppose the raw youth of Italy to the hardy veterans of his rival. The populace attached to the victorious invader, enjoyed in secret his weakness and distress; and Pompey, after lamenting his own credulity, assembled the senate, informed them that it was necessary to abandon Rome and retire to Capua; and declared his resolution to consider all those who remained in the capital to countenance or witness the violence of Cæsar, as equally guilty with those who should be found in his camp.

The influence of Pompey was diminished, but his menaces were still dreaded; the consuls Marcellus and Lentulus were zealously attached to his interests; and the most illustrious of the senate had ranged themselves on his side as the only refuge from the cruelty and rapacity of Cæsar, and the only hope of preserving the appearance of a free constitution: Cicero, Cato, and even Marcus Brutus, who boasted amongst his ancestors the first founder of the republic, and whose father, in the civil wars between Marius and Sylla, had perished by the command of Pompey, but who now sacrificed his private resentment to the public welfare, obeyed the summons of a chief whose sword

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was conſecrated by the authority of the conſuls and the ſenate. The enſigns of magiſtracy were removed from the capital; all night the gates were crowded with a trembling train of ſenators, who diſtracted by the general panic, abandoned their houſes and their families, ignorant of what aſylum they ſhould ſeek, or what future conduct they ſhould adopt.

While the general conſternation upbraided the remiſſneſs of Pompey, every moment was improved by the deciſive activity of Cæſar. The Italian cities, unwilling or unable to oppoſe his progreſs, had received him with the warmeſt profeſſions of joy and duty; he preſſed in perſon the diligence, and animated the hopes of his followers; and while he affected to liſten to the deluſive negociations of his rival, he advanced with a ſteady and rapid courſe to the walls of Corfinium.

That city, ſtrong in its fortifications, firſt aſpired to check the progreſs of the victor. It was defended by a numerous garriſon commanded by Domitius Ahenobarbus, who had been nominated by the ſenate to ſucceed to the government of Gaul. The ſoldiers of Cæſar were equally accuſtomed to the uſe of the ſpade and the pick-axe as to the ſword and ſpear; their inceſſant labour ſurrounded Corfinium with ſtrong lines of circumvallation which precluded all eſcape. Domitius

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was ſoon convinced of his own temerity, which had rejected the prudent counſels of Pompey, and regarded as ignominious a timely and ſalutary retreat. He beheld himſelf expoſed with thirty cohorts, and ſeveral of the moſt noble of the ſenate, to the danger and inconvenience of a ſiege. A garriſon without hopes of relief, and aſſailed by famine, could not long be retained in obedience; and the ſoldiers of Domitius, deaf to the entreaties or reproaches of their commander, opened the gates of Corfinium, and ſubmitted to the ſuperior fortunes of Cæſar.

The eyes of the empire had been fixed on the ſiege of Corfinium, and the minds of the Romans were intent on the treatment which the vanquiſhed would experience. Cæſar had hitherto been repreſented, by the adherents of Pompey, as fierce, ſanguinary and implacable: His victory it was ſuppoſed would be attended by the extinction of his enemies. But his policy or humanity enſured the ſafety of Domitius; that Roman, with his companions, was received with politeneſs, and diſmiſſed in ſecurity; ſix millions of ſeſterces, or near fifty thouſand pounds, which had been found in the town, and which he claimed as his priva e property, were delivered to him by the generoſity of the victor; and the citizens of Rome, who had formerly celebrated the fortune

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and genius, now liſtened with fond admiration to the clemency and magnanimity of Cæſar.

The capital already ſtretched out her arms to receive the conqueror; but inſtead of trifling away his hours in the luxury of Rome, Cæſar haſtened to complete the ſubjection of Italy, and to diminiſh by new conqueſts the reſources of his rival.

From the reduction of Corfinium, Pompey had entirely abandoned all hopes of defending Rome and Italy. Afraid of hazarding his reputation in a deciſive conteſt with his competitor, he had preſerved a wary diſtance; had changed the rendezvous of his adherents from Capua to Brunduſium, which, ſituated on the ſhores of the Hadriatic, allowed him, by means of his ſuperiority at ſea, an eaſy paſſage into Greece, where he propoſed to collect the legions and princes of the Eaſt, and renew the war on more equal terms with his rival.

He had already embarked the conſuls with part of his forces for Dyracchium, and only waited the return of the tranſports to follow with the remainder, when the preſence of Cæſar, who had rapidly traverſed Apulia, compelled him to ſuſtain the diſgrace of a ſiege from the man whoſe arms he had formerly derided, and whoſe offers of accommodation he ſtill obſtinately rejected. To incloſe his rival the enterpriſing mind of Cæſar had projected

a mole acroſs the entrance of the harbour. But while he urged the work with diligence, the return of the tranſports diſſipated the anxiety of Pompey. As the mouth of the harbour was ſtill open, Pompey determined to withdraw with the reſt of his army; and the precautions he adopted were worthy of a ſkilful and veteran commander. The gates of the city were ſtrongly ſecured; to embarraſs the purſuit of the beſiegers, the ſtreets were traverſed by deep trenches ſlightly covered with earth; the legions were firſt embarked; the ſlingers and light infantry followed at an appointed ſignal; and with the loſs of two tranſports only, the fleet of Pompey cleared the harbour of Brunduſium, and with a favourable wind directed its courſe to the ſhores of Greece.

After accepting the ſubmiſſion of Brunduſium, Cæſar pointed his march towards the capital, received the congratulations of the few ſenators who remained, poſſeſſed himſelf of the public treaſure that Pompey had neglected to remove, which amounted to upwards of a million ſterling: And to the repreſentations of thoſe who urged that the money was a ſacred fund, only to be employed on the emergency of a Gallic invaſion, ſcornfully replied, "That objection is removed, "ſince I have entirely ſubdued the Gauls."

Yet, ſenſible how ungrateful this laſt ſtep had proved

proved to the multitude, he refrained from addreſſing the people as he had firſt intended; after a ſhort reſpite of ſeven days he left Rome to purſue the war in Spain; diſguſted with the levity of the commons, and inſpired with contempt for the ſenate. "He deſpiſes," ſays Curio, in a letter to Cicero, "the ſenate more than ever. I "meant to have held my commiſſion by a fictitious decree of that aſſembly; but he anſwered, "that I ſhould hold it from himſelf; and that "every honour and every power ſhould be derived from him only."

It was the expreſſive obſervation of Cæſar, on his departure from Rome to Spain, "That from "encountering a general without an army he was "now going to encounter an army without a general;" yet the lieutenants of Pompey, Afranius and Petreius, were poſſeſſed of no inconſiderable ſhare of military reputation; and ſenſible that delay was moſt eſſential to the intereſts of their chief, had occupied with five legions, eighty cohorts of provincial infantry, and five thouſand horſe, the ſtrong port of Ilerda, on the banks of the Segra, and about twenty miles above where that river unites its waters with the ſtream of the Cinca.

In the rapid paſſage of Cæſar through Gaul, one city alone preſumed to arreſt the courſe of

the victor. On the ſhores of the Mediterranean ſea, Marſeilles confided in the ſtrength of its ſituation, in the valour of its citizens, and in the aſſurances of Pompey. Domitius Ahenobarbus, lately diſmiſſed from Corfinium, but who diſdained the clemency and ſtill braved the arms of Cæſar, had entered the harbour with ſeven ſhips and a band of faithful veterans. The numbers of the garriſon were ſwelled by an hardy race of barbarians from the neighbouring mountains; the magazines were repleniſhed, the fortifications reſtored; and Marſeilles, firm to the cauſe of Pompey, and confident in its reſources, reſiſted the ſolicitations and derided the menaces of Cæſar.

It was not the diſpoſition of Cæſar to ſuffer a ſingle city with impunity to inſult his authority. He immediately inveſted Marſeilles with three legions; but impatient of delay, he committed the ſiege to his generals Decimus Brutus and Trebonius, and preſſed forward with a numerous eſcort to join his army, which had already penetrated through the paſſes of the Pyrennees into Spain.

The country between the Segra and the Cinea was the theatre of war between Cæſar and his antagoniſts; and the firſt operations were far from favourable to the fortunes or reputation of the former. The waters of the Segra were ſuddenly

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ſwelled by the torrents from the adjacent mountains; the bridges which Cæſar had thrown acroſs it were ſwept away; and his attempts to conſtruct new ones were either baffled by the vigilance of the enemy, or the impetuous ſtream of the river; neither the Segra nor the Cinea were fordable; a multitude of horſes and men, impriſoned within the narrow compaſs of thirty miles, began to feel the preſſure of famine; and Petreius and Afranius, who from the oppoſite banks enjoyed the diſtreſs of their adverſary, already exulted in the proſpect of a bloodleſs victory.

The mind of Cæſar was not to be diſcouraged by trivial obſtacles; a number of light boats, ſuch as he had obſerved were uſed by the Britons, were built by his direction, and tranſported to a diſtance from his camp. In theſe a choſen detachment was embarked in the ſilence of the night; they croſſed the river unobſerved, entrenched themſelves on the oppoſite banks, and maintained their poſt while the reſt of the army conſtructed a bridge which reſtored the communication with the open country.

The Gauliſh cavalry of Cæſar immediately ſpread themſelves over the fertile region which extends round Ilerda; and to prevent a repetition of the diſtreſs which he had ſo lately experienced, Cæſar determined to divert the waters of the river into a new

channel. Petreius and Afranius beheld with aſtoniſhment and diſmay the execution of the arduous project; the viſionary triumph in which they had indulged themſelves had vaniſhed from their ſight; their preſumptuous hopes were clouded by deſpair; they dreaded to remain in the preſence of a chief whoſe genius not even nature itſelf could reſtrain; they reſolved to remove the war to the diſtant province of Celtiberia; and the ſignal of retreat was given to the deſponding troops, who already beheld themſelves vanquiſhed in the conſternation of their leaders.

Their haſty and diſorderly march was ſoon interrupted by the purſuit of Cæſar; his ſquadrons preſſed upon their rear, inſulted their diſtreſs, and repeated their attacks with increaſe of fury. The vigour of the legions was exhauſted by the inceſſant repetition of march and combat; they halted on an eminence, which they continued to fortify with laborious aſſiduity; but they perceived not, till they had conſumed the water each ſoldier carried in his flaſk, that they were diſtant from any other ſupply. The inconvenience of their ſituation had not eſcaped the obſervation of Cæſar; and while he reſtrained the ardour of his own followers, who impatiently demanded the ſignal of attack, he drew a ſtrong line of circumvallation to prevent the eſcape of the enemy. It was in vain

that

that Petreius and Afranius endeavoured to pierce the intrenchments; every day, every hour, diminiſhed the means of ſubſiſtence; the conſciouſneſs of their own imprudence ſerved to aggravate the ſenſe of their diſtreſs; they yielded to the extremity of thirſt and hunger, and confeſſed the aſcendancy and implored the mercy of Cæſar.

The clemency of the conqueror was again diſplayed in the hour of triumph: The common ſoldiers readily conſented to ſwell the number of his forces; the chiefs were diſmiſſed to join the camp of Pompey, and renew the war; while the victor, with his uſual celerity, after providing for the tranquillity of Spain, which he had ſubdued in forty days, repaſſed the Pyrennees, and joined his army before the walls of Marſeilles.

The works of that city were already nearly levelled by the engines of the beſiegers; the fleet which had been brought to its ſuccour had been defeated by that of Cæſar; Domitius, conſcious of the weakneſs of the town and of his own ingratitude, had hoiſted ſail with the three remaining gallies, eluded the vigilance of his enemies, and left the citizens of Marſeilles to deplore their own temerity, and to accuſe the inſincerity of Pompey, who had promiſed to march to their relief. The hopes of the inhabitants reſted on the generoſity of Cæſar; a deputation of the moſt reſpectable implored

his mercy; their ſubmiſſion was accepted, and their pardon was granted to the ancient renown of the colony, and to their aſſurances of future fidelity.

Wherever Cæſar appeared in perſon, victory ſeemed to accompany his footſteps; but the enterpriſes of his lieutenants were either executed with inferior ability, or conducted with inferior fortune. On the ſea, the ſquadrons of his rival ſtill rode triumphant; and the brother of Mark Antony was obliged to ſurrender the iſland of Corcyra, with fifteen cohorts, to the fleet of Pompey.

Yet it was in Africa that the deepeſt wound was inflicted on the proſperity of Cæſar. He had diſpatched Curio, with the troops which had revolted to him in Italy, to occupy Sicily, and to extend the war through the province of Africa. The ambitious ſpirit of Curio was elated by the ready ſubmiſſion of Sicily; in a proſperous navigation he reached the harbour of Clupea, landed his legions on the ſhores of Africa, and compelled Varus, the lieutenant of Pompey, to ſeek ſhelter within the walls of Utica.

From the ſiege of Utica, Curio was diverted by the unwelcome intelligence that Juba, king of Numidia, was advancing with all his forces to the ſupport of Varus. He immediately occupied an eminence

eminence in the neighbourhood of the ſea, on which Scipio Africanus had formerly pitched his camp, and where he might have waited in ſafety freſh reinforcements from Italy: But he was allured from the ſecurity of his ſtation by the wiles of the Numidian monarch; he liſtened to the artful tale of a pretended deſerter, who aſſured him that Juba was recalled to the defence of his own dominions. Impatient to merit the applauſe of Cæſar, he ruſhed to ſurprize the camp of Varus; inſtead of a feeble band ſunk in negligence, he found a numerous hoſt ranged in order of battle: The legions were confounded by the rapid evolutions, and overwhelmed by the ſquadrons of Africa; oppreſſed by their own fears, and exhauſted by thirſt and fatigue, they were thrown into diſorder, and the field was ſtrewed with their mangled carcaſſes. Curio himſelf, amidſt diſmay and ſlaughter, preſerved the ſame undaunted courage as he had diſplayed through life; his indignant ſpirit ſcorned to ſurvive the deſtruction of his army; he rejected the inglorious propoſal of flight, and precipitated himſelf amidſt the thickeſt of the enemy. He fell covered with wounds, leſs lamented as the firſt diſtinguiſhed victim of that civil war which his eloquence and his ambition had ſo largely contributed to kindle.

Chapter the Thirty-Fifth.

PREPARATIONS OF POMPEY.—COLLECTS THE FORCES OF THE EAST.—ASSEMBLES A CONSIDERABLE FLEET.—IS JOINED BY CICERO AND THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS OF THE SENATE.—CÆSAR PROCEEDS TO ROME.—QUELLS AT PLACENTIA A MUTINY OF HIS TROOPS.—IS INVESTED WITH THE TITLE OF DICTATOR.—RESIGNS THAT OFFICE, AND IS CHOSEN CONSUL WITH SERVILIUS ISAURICUS.—PREPARES TO PURSUE POMPEY INTO MACEDONIA.—EMBARKS AT BRUNDUSIUM, AND LANDS IN EPIRUS.—PROPOSES TERMS OF ACCOMMODATION.—THEY ARE REJECTED BY POMPEY.—CÆSAR MARCHES TOWARDS DYRACCHIUM.—ENCAMPS ON THE BANKS OF THE APSUS.—IS JOINED BY THE REST OF HIS FORCES FROM ITALY.—ATTEMPTS TO BESIEGE POMPEY IN HIS CAMP.—HIS WORKS ARE FORCED.—UNSUCCESSFUL SKIRMISH.—HE RETIRES INTO THESSALY.—ENCAMPS ON THE BANKS OF THE ENIPEUS.—IS FOLLOWED BY POMPEY.—BATTLE OF PHARSALIA.—DEFEAT AND FLIGHT OF POMPEY.—ARRIVES ON THE COAST OF EGYPT.—IS ASSASSINATED BY SEPTIMIUS, A ROMAN DESERTER.—FUNERAL RITES PERFORMED BY HIS FREED-MAN PHILIP.

WHILE

WHILE Cæſar ſeized the favourable moment to diffuſe the terror of his arms through the Weſt, Pompey, awakened by misfortune to a ſenſe of his former inactivity, had ſummoned to his ſupport the numerous forces of the Eaſt. The legions of that frontier readily embraced his cauſe; the opulent provinces of Aſia cheerfully ſubmitted to his authority; and the kings of Pontus, Armenia, and Cappadocia, reſpected, and marched beneath, the banner of the conqueror of Mithridates.

Five legions, and ſeven thouſand citizens of rank, had accompanied him from Italy; the veterans of Theſſaly had again reſumed their arms to protect his glory; one legion had been drawn from Crete, another from Sicily; his father-in-law, Metellus Scipio, held Syria, with two legions, three thouſand cavalry, and ſix thouſand auxiliaries; above ſeventy thouſand ſoldiers, accuſtomed to war, and moſt of whom had taſted of his bounty, and had conquered under his auſpices, were aſſociated beneath his ſtandard, and vowed to prop with their arms and lives his fame and fortunes.

From the land the vigilance of Pompey had been extended to the ſea: A formidable fleet had iſſued

iſſued from the harbours of Egypt, and was entruſted to the conduct of his ſon Sextus: The ſquadrons of Syria had ſailed to his aſſiſtance under Caius Caſſius, whoſe martial virtues had been approved in repeated conflicts with the armies of Parthia: The naval armaments of Rhodes were commanded by Caius Marcellus and Coponius, and thoſe of Achaia and Liburnia by Scribonius Libo and Marcus Octavius. Above eight hundred gallies, devoted to his ſervice, inceſſantly cruized between Greece and Italy; and while they protected the former, allowed him to invade, as prudence might direct, the latter; and transfer the war again to the gates of Rome.

Even the operations in Spain had extended his influence, and ſwelled the number of his adherents: The rumour of the firſt advantages gained by Petreius and Afranius, had been rapidly communicated to Italy, and had been joyfully received; Cicero himſelf, who had long lingered, uncertain what part to act, had been determined by tidings ſo favourable to the hopes of Pompey, and had embarked for Dyrrachium. In his camp the moſt illuſtrious of the ſenate were united; yet, although they conſidered themſelves as the real conſtituents of the commonwealth, they ſuffered the uſual time of elections to elapſe without attempting any new appointments; and the late

conſuls,

conſuls, Claudius Marcellus and Cornelius Lentulus, reſigned the enſigns of their office, and contented themſelves with the more humble title of pro-conſuls.

The daring and deciſive genius of Cæſar was neither ſenſible of fear nor embarraſſed by doubt. He had from the reduction of Marſeilles inſtantly returned to Rome, extorted the title of dictator, and received the homage of the ſenate and the people. In his paſſage he had quelled at Placentia a mutiny of the ſoldiers, whoſe licentious pride had been elated by victory, and by the conſciouſneſs of their own importance. Their turbulence yielded to the firmneſs of Cæſar; and the fears of the capital were aſſuaged, and the regard of her citizens conciliated, by the general indemnity which Cæſar proclaimed on his arrival, and from which Milo alone was excepted.

It was not only to the character of clemency Cæſar aſpired; in a conteſt which had been excited by his ambition, he affected to diſtinguiſh himſelf by his moderation; and in his language and his conduct he expreſſed his reverence for the laws of the republic. He reſigned the title of dictator in a few days after it had been conferred upon him; and having aſſociated with himſelf in the office of conſul Servilius Iſauricus, he propoſed to purſue his rival into Macedonia, ſenſible that arms, not ceremonies, muſt eſtabliſh his new authority.

It

It was now the month of December; and at ſo tempeſtuous a ſeaſon of the year, it was ſcarce ſuppoſed that Cæſar would truſt his fortunes to a ſtormy ſea, and after ſo many labours lead his war-worn followers to new toils. The apparent raſhneſs of the enterpriſe had again lulled aſleep the vigilance of Pompey; and his ſquadrons had ſought ſhelter from the fury of the winds in the ſpacious harbours of Greece. But it was difficult to foreſee what ſo daring a genius as that of Cæſar would attempt. He had aſſembled twelve legions at Brunduſium; and though the health and numbers of his army were impaired and diminiſhed by diſeaſe, he determined to anticipate the intentions of his enemy, and keep him involved in all the diſadvantages of a defenſive war.

U. C. 705. The tranſports collected at Brunduſium would admit only twenty thouſand infantry and ſix hundred horſe; with theſe Cæſar, leaving the reſt of his troops to the conduct of Mark Antony, embarked about the beginning of February; and declining from the uſual courſe, with a favourable wind reached the promontory of Acroceraunus, where a ridge of rocks rendered his aſcent moſt difficult, and his preſence leaſt expected.

The intelligence that Cæſar had already landed, was the firſt intimation that Pompey had received

of

of his deſign to paſs the ſea. He immediately ordered his ſquadrons to aſſume their former activity; and as he advanced to protect the coaſt of Epirus, he met Vibullius Rufus, one of his own officers, who had lately been made priſoner by Cæſar, and was now diſmiſſed with propoſals of accommodation.

The meſſage of Cæſar was probably rather intended to deceive than to conciliate his rival. He obſerved that both parties had already carried their obſtinacy too far, and might learn from experience to diſtruſt their fortunes: That the one had been expelled from Italy, had loſt Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain, with thirteen legions: That the other had to lament an army in Africa cut off with its leader: That their mutual diſappointments might inſtruct them how little they could rely on the events of war: That it was time to conſult their own ſafety, and to ſpare the republic: That it was prudent to treat of peace while the fortunes and the hopes of both were nearly balanced; for ſhould either obtain a deciſive advantage, who could anſwer that the victor would be equally tractable as at preſent?

He added, ſince all former endeavours to procure a conference between himſelf and Pompey had failed, he was now ready to ſubmit their differences to the judgment of the ſenate and the people; that in the mean time each of them

ſhould

ſhould ſwear at the head of their reſpective armies, that in three days they would diſband all their forces, that they might be under the neceſſity of abiding by the deciſion, and obeying the authority of the legal government of their country; and that he himſelf, to remove all objections on the part of Pompey, would begin by diſmiſſing the troops which had been levied in his name.

The anſwer of Pompey was ſuch as the memory of his former ſplendour, the reſentment of his late diſaſters, and the hopes of future victory, might naturally inſpire. He neither was amuſed by the meſſage of Cæſar, nor attempted to retort the artifice by affecting to be deceived. "That he "would not return to his country, nor hold his "life by the favour of Cæſar," was his abrupt and indignant reply.

Confiding more in his ſword and addreſs than in negociation, Cæſar advanced from the coaſt, was admitted into Oricum and Apollonia, was acknowledged by the principal cities of Epirus, and with rapid ſteps preſſed towards Dyracchium, the repoſitory of the ſtores and magazines of his rival. The diligence of Pompey baffled his deſigns; and inſtead of vainly attempting a town ſtrong in its natural ſituation, and defended by an army more than double his own, Cæſar pitched his camp on the banks of the Apſus, a ſtation which enabled him

to

to cover from inſult the country of Epirus, and to wait in ſecurity the arrival of the reſt of his troops from Italy.

If we may credit the authority of Dion Caſſius, and Appian, the impatience of Cæſar to unite his ſcattered legions, urged him to tempt, without attendants and in a ſmall and open veſſel, the ſtormy waves of the Hadriatic, and the dangers of a winter navigation. As the mariners ſtruggled with the fury of the tempeſt, they were ſurpriſed and encouraged by the unexpected addreſs: "Fear "nothing; you carry Cæſar and his fortunes!" Their ſpirits were revived, but their efforts were ineffectual; and on the return of day they regained with difficulty the coaſt of Epirus.

The ſilence of Cæſar himſelf allows us to doubt the romantic narrative: His repeated letters had indeed upbraided the delay of his lieutenants Antony and Calenus; but it is ſcarce probable that he would have withdrawn from his camp and left his forces in Epirus, diſcouraged by the abſence of their leader, to maintain their ſtation againſt ſo experienced a general as Pompey. The death of Bibulus, the admiral of Pompey, afforded at length to Antony the opportunity he had impatiently deſired: The ſquadrons, no longer reſtrained under one authority, acted without concert, and ſunk into their former remiſsneſs. Three veteran le-

gions, with Antony himself, eluded the purſuit of their enemies, and gained the bay of Nympheus, on the coaſt of Dalmatia: They ſoon after effected a junction with Cæſar; who again, at the head of a formidable army, reſumed the operations of offenſive war.

The woody and mountainous country of Epirus became the ſcene of a long and doubtful conteſt between two generals not unworthy of each other. The diligence and artful manœuvres of Cæſar had ſeparated Pompey from the important ſtation of Dyracchium; and he now meditated the ſtupendous project of inveſting with lines of circumvallation, an army nearly double to his own. In the labour of ſome months the fortifications which he had conſtructed, connected twenty-four caſtles by a perpetual ditch and rampart of fifteen miles; and Pompey, who had at firſt derided the attempt, now ſeriouſly reflected on the inconveniencies of his ſituation. His ſoldiers were indeed plentifully ſupplied with bread; but their horſes began to ſuffer for want of forage; the rivers had been diverted from their channels by the indefatigable zeal of their enemy; and the exhalation of putrid carcaſes had already infected the air, and menaced the camp with the fatal ravages of peſtilence.

The ſea was ſtill open of acceſs to Pompey; and to baffle the deſigns of his rival, that general ſilently

embarked

embarked a numerous detachment of ſlingers and archers, who were inſtructed to land in the rear of Cæſar's entrenchments, while ſix legions attacked in front the works that were leaſt capable of reſiſtance. The veterans of Cæſar were ſurpriſed and broken; the entrenchments were pierced; and the troops of Pompey ſpread themſelves over the plain, and indulged in the plenty of Epirus.

Cæſar could not behold without mortification the labours of ſo many months rendered ineffectual: His reputation began to ſuffer in the eyes of the multitude; and he was already regarded as a raſh adventurer, who had preſumed to practiſe againſt the ableſt captain of the age, arts which could only be ſucceſsfully exerted againſt ignorant barbarians, or commanders of mean capacity.

Though Cæſar, confident in his own genius and in the diſcipline of his army, was not intimidated by the late diſaſter, yet his ardent deſire to remove the impreſſion which it had made on the minds of mankind, expoſed him to a check ſtill more ſevere and deciſive. Modern actions, when deſcribed by thoſe who direct them, are almoſt invariably involved in confuſion; and at the diſtance of eighteen centuries, it is ſcarce poſſible to elucidate the circumſtance which led to the defeat of the moſt conſummate general of his age.

It appears, however, from the imperfect text of his own Commentaries, that he had marched with twenty-two cohorts, to cut off a legion belonging to Pompey, which had been detached from the main body: That in the execution of this project he had been attacked by Pompey himſelf at the head of a formidable reinforcement: That the veterans of Cæſar had been ſeized with a ſudden panic; and that, regardleſs of the voice of their leader, they had abandoned themſelves to a ſhameful and precipitate flight: That entangled in the works of the enemy, he loſt above a thouſand legionaries with thirty ſtandards; and that he owed the preſervation of his army ſolely to the extreme caution of Pompey, who, fearful of ſurpriſe, recalled his ſoldiers from the purſuit.

This ſecond miſcarriage ſeemed indeed to menace nothing leſs than his final deſtruction. The reputation of Pompey was exalted in proportion as that of Cæſar was depreſſed: The victories of the firſt over Mithridates were the favourite theme of his adherents, while the conqueſts of the laſt in Gaul were deſpiſed or derided. The laurels which he had acquired in ſo many ſtubborn campaigns were blaſted by one diſaſtrous event; and he was even reported to have gained the Spaniſh army by corruption, and to have purchaſed with money thoſe advantages which he pretended to have attained by his ſword and addreſs.

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The followers of Pompey, in the pride of exultation, had hailed their leader with the title of *Imperator*; but the moſt convincing proof of his victory was the conduct of Cæſar himſelf: He confeſſed himſelf defeated; abandoned his famous works round Dyracchium; contracted his poſts; and recalled the ſcattered detachments of his army to make head againſt his triumphant adverſary.

The abilities of a general are diſplayed with more genuine luſtre beneath the clouds of adverſity, than amidſt the blaze of proſperity: To rekindle the ardour of his deſponding ſoldiers, Cæſar recalled to their minds their former victories, palliated their late miſconduct, and excited them to repair their fault by their future diligence and reſolution. To remove from their eyes the ſcene of defeat, he prepared to quit the inauſpicious coaſt of Epirus; and to reſtore the exhauſted ſtrength of his veterans by the abundance of the fertile plains of Theſſaly.

The legions of Syria, under the conduct of Metellus Scipio, had already advanced to the frontiers of Macedonia; and Pompey, apprehenſive for their ſafety, followed with anxious ſpeed the ſteps of Cæſar. In his march, the latter had chaſtiſed the preſumption of the citizens of Gomphi, who had refuſed to open their gates at his ſummons: He ſcaled the walls of the town, and de-

livered the inhabitants to the luſt or avarice of his ſoldiers: The fate of Gomphi enſured the ſubmiſſion of Metropolis; and Cæſar, having effected his junction with two legions under his lieutenants Domitius and Longinus, pitched his camp on the celebrated banks of the Enipeus.

On the commanding ſtation of Pharſalus, about three miles from the camp of Cæſar, Pompey, whoſe army was ſwelled by the forces of Syria, attentively obſerved the motions of his adverſary. His own judgment and diſpoſition inclined him to ſuſpend every hazardous or deciſive meaſure; to avail himſelf of his ſuperior numbers to intercept the detachments and proviſions of his enemy; and to imitate the conduct of Fabius rather than that of Scipio. But the fortitude which is inſenſible to danger, may be vanquiſhed by reproach: The ill-timed raillery of Cicero, the clamours of an impatient train of ſenators, who accuſed him of protracting the war that he might prolong the term of their dependence, were felt and acknowledged. Every precaution that implied a doubt of immediate victory, was repreſented as unworthy the army which he commanded. The mind of Pompey was not ſufficiently firm to ſupport the public contempt; he yielded to the importunities of his followers; and their petulance, and his own vanity, precipitated the downfall of the Roman republic.

On

On the ninth of Auguſt, a day ever memorable in the Roman calendar, Cæſar, who diſtreſſed for ſubſiſtence already meditated to change the ſeat of war, beheld with tranſport the ſignal of battle diſplayed on the tent of his rival. He accepted the challenge with pleaſure; and in a military oration, he reminded his ſoldiers of his continual attention to their welfare, and of the ſolicitude with which he had endeavoured by negociation to prevent the effuſion of Roman blood. He was anſwered by the loud acclamations of the legions; and confident in their fidelity, their courage, and their diſcipline, he ruſhed to encounter the ſuperior numbers of his competitor.

The forces of Pompey conſiſted of forty-five thouſand infantry and ſeven thouſand cavalry. The ſtrength of the former was placed in the centre, under the command of Scipio: On the right, Afranius led the Cilician legion, and the remains of the Spaniſh Army; and on the left, Pompey himſelf, with the two legions which had been recalled from Cæſar, prepared to ſupport the charge of his horſe: This was compoſed of the nobleſt youth of Rome; and it was on their valour Pompey chiefly founded his hopes of victory.

The diſpoſition of Cæſar was guided by that of his competitor: To Scipio he oppoſed Domitius Calvinius; to Afranius, Antony; while he him-

ſelf aſſumed his ſtation on the right, and fixed his eyes inceſſantly on his rival. A thouſand horſe, which compoſed his whole cavalry, were ſtrengthened by the moſt active and expert of his infantry; and theſe were directed to aim their weapons at the faces inſtead of the bodies of their adverſaries.

During the ſolemn interval that the anxious armies awaited the ſignal for action, they gazed on each in awful ſilence: The ſame arms, and the ſame enſigns, preſented themſelves along the hoſtile ranks; and the kindred bands might for a moment deplore the guilt and horror of civil commotion. But their generous reluctance was extinguiſhed, and their martial rage aroused, by the ſound of the trumpet. The cavalry of Pompey ruſhed forward as to certain victory; the feeble ſquadrons of Cæſar were overwhelmed by their fury. But as they purſued, elated by ſucceſs and negligent of order, they in their turn were broken by the unexpected charge of the infantry: The youthful patricians, who could brave death with intrepidity, trembled for the loſs of their beauty; the javelins of their enemies were darted at their faces; and they ſhrunk from thoſe ſcars which an ancient Roman would have deemed his higheſt glory. To preſerve their perſons they ſacrificed their honour; and their flight was as diſgraceful to themſelves as fatal to their party.

Their

Their fears were communicated to the breaſt of Pompey, who, unmindful of his former fame, abruptly quitted a field which his conſtancy might ſtill have reſtored. His infantry, deſerted by their general and abandoned by their cavalry, maintained their ground for ſome time with order and firmneſs, until Cæſar led in perſon his reſerve, the flower of his legions, to the attack. The ſkill of the general, and the bravery of his ſoldiers, ſurmounted every obſtacle; fifteen thouſand of the army of Pompey periſhed on the field, and the ſurvivors fled in confuſion from the ſcene of ſlaughter. The intrenchments of their camp were forced; and the gold and ſilver veſſels, the purple beds, the magnificent trophies of patrician luxury, and which had been prepared in the aſſurance of victory, were abandoned to the rapacity of the conquerors. Part of the fugitives gained a neighbouring eminence, and endeavoured to reach the friendly walls of Lariſſa; their march was intercepted by Cæſar, who urged the purſuit with his wonted diligence. To increaſe their diſtreſs he diverted from its courſe a brook which had ſupplied them with water; and exhauſted with thirſt, with hunger, and fatigue, they confeſſed the aſcendancy, and implored the mercy, of the conqueror.

While Cæſar aſſiduouſly improved the moments

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of victory, the unhappy Pompey preſſed with trembling ſpeed his diſgraceful flight. From the diſaſtrous field, which had for ever overwhelmed his fame and fortune, he had retired to his tent to meditate on the dangers of his ſituation: As he ſat penſive and loſt in thought, he was rouzed by the intelligence that the banners of Cæſar were already diſplayed in his camp: He exchanged the purple of the general for a habit more ſuitable to his condition; and mounting his horſe, ſwiftly fled by the oppoſite gate. The humble cottage of a fiſherman received the illuſtrious fugitive, who, after a ſhort and broken ſlumber, embarked with a few faithful attendants, and ſteered for Leſbos. On that iſland, ſecure from the din of war, his blameleſs conſort had fixed her reſidence; and Cornelia firſt learnt from the preſence of her huſband his and her own misfortunes: She aſcended the ſhip, the partner of his flight and affliction; and Pompey, after touching at the coaſts of Cilicia and Cyprus, directed his anxious courſe to the ſhores of Egypt.

The influence of Pompey, and the arms of Gabinius, had reſtored the ſceptre of Egypt to Ptolomy Auletes: On his death it had paſſed to the hand of his ſon; but the breaſt of the new monarch was diſturbed by the pretenſions of his ſiſter Cleopatra, who by the will of her father was

to ſhare the bed and crown of her brother: His feeble youth was directed by his general Achillas, his tutor Theodotus, and the eunuch Photinus; and their guilty ſouls were alarmed by the approach of a hero who might erect himſelf into the arbiter of the affairs of Egypt. The double claims of gratitude and hoſpitality would indeed be violated by the murder of Pompey; but the bloody deed would ſecure their own power, and, it was expected, would conciliate the favour of Cæſar; and the execution of the crime was entruſted to Septimius, a Roman deſerter, whom his employers were aſſured would never be diverted from his purpoſe by any conſideration of fear or remorſe.

A ſmall bark was diſpatched to receive the deſtined victim; and as Pompey, after embracing Cornelia, entered the veſſel, accompanied by his freed-man Philip, his preſaging ſoul recalled the lines of Sophocles, "That he who truſts his free-"dom to a tyrant, becomes from that inſtant a "ſlave." His apprehenſions were increaſed by the gloomy ſilence of Septimius and his companions; yet a gleam of hope darted on his mind as he beheld the ſhore lined with the royal guards, and honoured by the preſence of the king himſelf. A moment diſpelled the pleaſing illuſion; as he roſe on the arm of his freed-man Philip, to

quit

quit the bark, his back was pierced by the dagger of Septimius. Senſible that reſiſtance was vain, he only endeavoured to preſerve in his laſt moments that decency which had diſtinguiſhed him through life; and covering his head with his robe, without uttering a word, he ſunk beneath the repeated ſtrokes of his treacherous aſſaſſins. His fate was the ſignal of flight to his friends; the lamentations of Cornelia were interrupted by her fears; and the Roman ſquadron, incapable of avenging the crime they deplored, haſtened to quit the guilty and inauſpicious coaſt.

Thus periſhed, by the weak and wicked maxims of the miniſters of Ptolomy, and in the fifty-eighth year of his age, Pompey the Great. His head was ſeparated from his body by his murderers, which was negligently or inſultingly left on the barren ſtrand; and the laſt rites were adminiſtered by the fidelity of his freed-man Philip. As he wandered along the ſhore in ſearch of materials to compoſe the ſlender pile, he was addreſſed by an aged ſoldier who had fought and conquered beneath the auſpices of Pompey. "Who "art thou," exclaimed he, "who art making "theſe preparations for the funeral of Pompey "the Great?" "I am his freed-man Philip." "Thou ſhalt not," replied the generous veteran, "have all the honour to thyſelf, let me partake

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" the ſacred and grateful care; it will pleaſe me, " amidſt the miſeries of exile, to have touched " the body, and aſſiſted at the funeral, of the " greateſt and nobleſt ſoldier Rome ever pro- " duced." By their labours an humble monument aroſe; and the inſcription, " How poor a " tomb covers the man who had ſo many tem- " ples erected to his glory," might admoniſh the reader of the inſtability of fortune, or remind him of the ingratitude of mankind.

Chapter the Thirty-Sixth.

CÆSAR ARRIVES IN EGYPT.—IS PRESENTED WITH THE HEAD OF POMPEY.—HIS CONCERN.—ESPOUSES THE PARTY OF CLEOPATRA.—MILITARY OPERATIONS IN EGYPT.—DEFEAT AND DEATH OF PTOLOMY.—ARRANGEMENT IN EGYPT.—CÆSAR ENCOUNTERS AND VANQUISHES PHARNACES.—RETURNS TO ROME.—INTERVIEW WITH CICERO.—CIVIL ADMINISTRATION.—CONDUCT OF CATO AFTER THE BATTLE OF PHARSALIA.—HE PURSUES HIS MARCH INTO AFRICA.—MUTINY OF THE ARMY IN ITALY.—IS QUELLED BY THE ADDRESS AND RESOLUTION OF CÆSAR.—HE EMBARKS FOR AFRICA.—ACCOUNT OF THE CAMPAIGN IN THAT PROVINCE.—BATTLE OF THAPSUS.—DEATH OF CATO.—EXTINCTION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN AFRICA.—CÆSAR ON HIS RETURN TO ROME IS INVESTED WITH THE AUTHORITY OF DICTATOR.—HIS ADDRESS TO THE ROMAN PEOPLE.—REVOLT OF SPAIN.—CÆSAR MARCHES TO THE DEFENCE OF THAT PROVINCE.—BATTLE OF MUNDA.—DEATH OF CNÆUS POMPEY.—NEW PROJECTS OF CÆSAR.—HE MEDITATES THE INVASION OF PARTHIA.—ASPIRES TO THE

THE CROWN.—CONSPIRACY AGAINST HIM.—CHARACTER OF MARCUS BRUTUS.—OF CAIUS CASSIUS.—CONDUCT OF PORCIA.—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF CÆSAR.

IMPATIENT to terminate the war by the captivity of his rival, Cæsar had passed the Hellespont, received the submission of the towns of Ionia, and with ten gallies, two legions, and eight hundred horse, had in a prosperous passage of three days reached Alexandria. He was there presented with the head of Pompey; and the tears that he shed might possibly be sincere. Our compassion is readily awakened by those misfortunes to which we are ourselves exposed; the lifeless features of him, who had once been distinguished by the title of *Great*, could not fail of producing very serious and solemn thoughts in the mind of the victor; and though competitors for power and glory, Pompey and himself had been once united in the bonds of the strictest friendship and most tender alliance. But the feeble emotion of involuntary pity was probably overwhelmed by the returning tide of ambition; Cæsar could not have ruled unless Pompey had perished! Yet with a just attention to his own fame, and a pious regard to the remains

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of his rival, he embalmed the head, tranſmitted his aſhes to Cornelia, and proclaimed his deteſtation of the treachery of Ptolomy by the temple which, at his command, aroſe to *Nemeſis, the Avenger.*

In the murder of Pompey the infamy was Ptolomy's, the advantage was Cæſar's. The Roman people had been left guardians to the will of the late king of Egypt; and Cæſar had ſcarcely landed at Alexandria before he admoniſhed Ptolomy and his ſiſter Cleopatra to ſubmit their pretenſions to his deciſion. With whatever reluctance the firſt, proud of independence, might admit the formidable mediation of the Roman conſul; the laſt, confident in her ſeductive powers, embraced with tranſport the welcome ſummons: She was now in the bloom of youth and beauty, and in full poſſeſſion of thoſe allurements which the conqueror of the world was found incapable of reſiſting: Her form was at once elegant and majeſtic; the vivacity of her eyes expreſſed the ſenſations of her mind; her wit was lively and penetrating; and the magic of her voice could ſuſpend the rage of ambition, and kindle the flames of deſire.

Such was the ſingular and captivating woman, who at the command of Cæſar diſbanded her army; and truſting to the more powerful influence

ence of her charms, haſtened to plead her cauſe before the conſul. She was ſecretly introduced into Alexandria; aſcended with heaving boſom the bed of her judge; and in a night of licentious pleaſures, received amidſt his embraces the pledge of future protection. But their wanton enjoyments were interrupted by the unwelcome ſound of the trumpet: The preſence of his ſiſter had excited the reproaches of Ptolomy; he was inſtantly ſeized by the orders of Cæſar. The Alexandrians beheld not without ſecret indignation the ſacred majeſty of their ſovereign violated; their murmurs were fanned into open fury by the breath of Achillas and of Photinus; they ruſhed to arms; and their diſorderly efforts were ſupported by the troops of Gabinius, which had been left to ſecure the eſtabliſhment of the late king; and whoſe pride, nouriſhed in the luxurious idleneſs of an opulent capital, aſpired to diſpoſe at pleaſure of the throne which they had been inſtituted to guard.

In the palace of the ſucceſſors of Alexander, the various and flexile genius of Cæſar, amidſt the diſtreſs and dangers of a ſiege, could revel in the arms of Cleopatra, and profit by the inſtructive converſation of the ſages of the Eaſt. Yet every moment augmented the difficulties of his ſituation; adverſe winds prevented him from

ſending any intelligence to Italy; and his feeble ſquadron and martial train were inceſſantly aſſailed by the fleets and armies of Egypt. In a variety of engagements by ſea and land the ſkill and valour of the Romans eluded or reſiſted the numbers of their adverſaries; the arrival of the eighteenth legion on the Egyptian coaſt, afforded a ſeaſonable relief to Cæſar; and a ſignal naval victory which he obtained in convoying them into the harbour of Alexandria, reſtored the hopes of his party: Yet ſoon after he himſelf was expoſed to a danger the moſt imminent. To ſecure his veſſels from inſult, with a ſelect detachment he had endeavoured to poſſeſs himſelf of the mole which commanded the entrance of the port: In the firſt moments of diſmay the Egyptians fled before him; but as he urged the purſuit with inconſiderate ardour, their returning numbers ſurrounded and oppreſſed his followers; four hundred legionaries were precipitated into and overwhelmed in the ſea; and Cæſar, amidſt the general confuſion, was reduced to commit himſelf to the mercy of the waves: He was preſerved by his ſtrength and dexterity; and amidſt a ſhower of miſſile weapons, gained in ſafety one of his own veſſels.

The Roman troops were united under the authority of an able and enterpriſing chief; the Egyptian hoſt was diſtracted by the hoſtile intrigues of

of contending factions: Arſinoe, the younger ſiſter of Ptolomy, had been conducted to Alexandria by the eunuch Ganimedes, who bore with indignation the controul of Achillas. A conſpiracy was formed with ſecreſy and ſucceſs; Achillas was aſſaſſinated by the order of his rival; and Ganimedes, aſſuming, in the name of Arſinoe, the command of the army, preſſed the Romans with redoubled vigour.

To inflame the diſcord of the Alexandrians, Cæſar affected to liſten to the profeſſions, and conſented to reſtore the liberty of Ptolomy. But the artful boy had no ſooner paſſed the boundaries of the palace than he derided the ſuppoſed credulity of the Roman. He forgot the kindneſs, and nouriſhed a deep reſentment of the inſult that had been offered him; and in the proſecution of the ſiege, diſplayed that vindictive ardour which the hope of independence and the thirſt of revenge naturally inſpire.

The winter and ſpring had already elapſed in theſe operations, when Cæſar received the welcome intelligence that Mithridates of Pergamus had conducted the legions of Aſia to his relief, had occupied Peluſium, and impatiently awaited his orders. The Roman chief immediately embarked his ſoldiers; with a fair wind reached Peluſium; and at the head of an army U. C. 706.

more formidable for its bravery and diſcipline than its numbers, directed his march towards the Nile. On the banks of that river the ſtandard of Ptolomy was already erected; and the king of Egypt in perſon aſpired to check the progreſs of the Roman eagle. He yielded to the ſuperior genius of his adverſary; his camp was forced; his army diſperſed; and in an attempt to eſcape, he himſelf periſhed in the waters of the Nile.

The victor might allow ſome moments to love and Cleopatra; but the cares of empire ſummoned him from the lap of beauty. The ſubmiſſive voice of Rome had conferred on the conqueror of Pompey the title and power of dictator; and the dignity of the republic demanded the chaſtiſement of Pharnaces, who had burſt from the limits of his paternal kingdom of Boſphorus, invaded Armenia and Cappadocia, and defeated the Roman forces under the command of Domitius Calvinus. After a ſhort and tender adieu to Cleopatra, whom in conjunction with her ſurviving brother he eſtabliſhed on the throne of Egypt, Cæſar with his victorious army croſſed the ſea to Tarſus; received the ſubmiſſion of Dejotarus, king of Galatia; entered Pontus; and on an eminence in the neighbourhood of Zicela, a place famous for the victory of Mithridates over the Romans, he beheld the hoſtile camp of Pharnaces.

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The apparent negligence of his enemy allured Pharnaces from the ſecurity of his ſituation; he preſumed to attack the camp of the Romans; the conflict was neither long nor doubtful; the effeminate natives of the Eaſt fled in confuſion before the warriors of the Weſt; and Pharnaces himſelf eſcaped with difficulty. The feeble reſiſtance of the Aſiatics excited the contempt of the conqueror of the hardy barbarians of Gaul and Germany: The atchievements of Sylla, of Lucullus, and of Pompey, roſe to the remembrance of Cæſar; as he compared them to his own, he exultingly exclaimed, "How cheap is fame when acquired by "vanquiſhing ſuch enemies!" And in his letters to the ſenate, the facility of his victory was deſcribed in the ſhort and expreſſive words: "I "came, I ſaw, I conquered."

Two years had now elapſed ſince Cæſar had quitted Rome; and Italy, during that period, had neither been exempt from the tempeſt which had agitated, nor from the calamities which had afflicted the diſtant provinces. From exile, Milo had ſuddenly returned to Italy, and collected a numerous train of adherents. In the ſiege of an obſcure town, the name of which is doubtfully recorded, he periſhed by a ſtone from one of the engines of the beſieged: His followers were diſperſed on his death; yet the tranquillity of Rome and Italy was

far from eſtabliſhed; and the peace of both was invaded by the licentious adminiſtration of Mark Antony, and by the frantic projects of Cornelius Dolabella. The former had trampled on every boundary of decency in the indulgence of his ſenſual appetites; and the latter had endeavoured to ſeduce the favour of the needy by propoſing an abolition of debts. Dolabella was a nobleman of illuſtrious deſcent, of ſplendid abilities, and inſinuating addreſs; but violent and daring; profligate in his morals, and embarraſſed in his circumſtances. He had married Tullia, the favourite daughter of Cicero, after her divorce from her ſecond huſband, Craſſipes; but in the civil war both neceſſity and inclination had attached him to the party of Cæſar; and in the general confuſion he hoped to extricate himſelf from thoſe difficulties in which he had involved himſelf in the purſuit of his pleaſures.

In his paſſage to Rome, Cæſar received with reſpect, and embraced with affection, Cicero, who after the battle of Pharſalia had deſpaired of the fortunes of the republic, and had retired to Italy to wait the determination of the victor. Whatever fears might have alarmed the boſom of the orator, were extinguiſhed by the generous behaviour of the dictator; who, on his arrival in the capital, applied himſelf with diligence to efface

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the reproach which had been incurred by the exceſſes of Antony, and to allay the expectations which had been excited by the harangues of Dolabella. To the people he obſerved, that he himſelf was a debtor; that he had expended his own fortune in the ſervice of the commonwealth, and was ſtill obliged to borrow more for the defence of it. Public credit had been ſhaken, and nearly overwhelmed in the convulſions of the ſtate; and to eſtabliſh it again, he revived an act which delivered the effects of the debtor to be divided among his creditors.

A ſhort reſpite only was allowed from his martial toils; from reſtoring order to the capital, Cæſar was ſummoned again to defend his authority by arms. On the coaſt of Macedonia, Cato had been informed of the defeat of Pharſalia, and of the flight of Pompey; the detachment which he commanded had been ſwelled by the fugitives from that diſaſtrous field; Cnæus, the eldeſt ſon of Pompey; Labienus, who had been trained to war under Cæſar, and had acted as his lieutenant in Gaul; and Afranius, who could ſcarce hope to experience a ſecond time the clemency of the victor, confeſſed the ſuperior virtues and ſubmitted to the authority of Cato.

He aſſembled a conſiderable fleet in the harbour of Corcyra, and as he ſteered his courſe to-

wards Egypt, he encountered Sextus, the younger ſon of Pompey, who informed him of the miſerable fate of his father. The ſtern ſoul of Cato was melted by the melancholy narrative, and he bluſhed not to embalm with his tears the memory of the unfortunate chief. His unavailing ſorrows were checked by a ſenſe of the dangers which menaced the liberties of his country; the preſervation of the republic was the object of his daily labours and nightly councils: The ſtandard of freedom was ſtill diſplayed in the province of Africa, where the army of Varus had been joined by Metellus Scipio, and was formidable from the alliance of the king of Numidia. Patient of thirſt, hunger and fatigue, Cato led his fainting followers through the ſandy deſerts of Barca. Neither the terrors of the whirlwind, nor the poiſonous bite of the aſp, could daunt a boſom that was animated with the ſacred love of freedom. After a laborious march of thirty days through the inhoſpitable waſte, he reached, with the remnant of his way-worn companions, the friendly walls of Utica. In the neighbourhood of that city, ten legions ſtill rejected the uſurpation of Cæſar, and maintained the independence of the republic. Superſtition might rely on the name of Scipio as invincible in Africa; but reaſon acknowledged the juſtice of the cauſe which was conſecrated by the approbation of Cato.

While

While Cæſar prepared to march againſt an enemy whoſe increaſing numbers and reputation demanded his moſt vigorous exertions, his deſigns were ſuſpended by an unexpected event which threatened the moſt fatal conſequences. Elated by ſucceſs, and conſcious of their own ſtrength, the inſolence of the victorious legions had already alarmed the ſafety of Italy. The nerves of diſcipline had been relaxed by the abſence of Cæſar; and amidſt the plenty of the luxuriant region of Capua, they liſtened with diſguſt to the toils and dangers of an African war. Their murmurs accuſed the difficulties of the voyage, and exaggerated the fierceneſs of the ſavage tribes of Numidia. On a ſudden quitting, their ſtation, they advanced by rapid and tumultuous ſteps towards the capital; they rejected the counſels, and derided the commands of their officers; trampled on thoſe who had been appointed to aſſuage their diſcontents; and in ſeditious clamours demanded the preſence of Cæſar. Alone undaunted, amidſt the general conſternation, Cæſar ordered the gates of the city to be thrown open for their reception, and in the field of Mars aſcended his tribunal with an unaltered countenance.

The licentious ſoldiers diſplayed their ſcars, enumerated their hardſhips, and inſiſted on their releaſe from future toils. "It is but juſt," replied Cæſar,

Cæſar, "that after ſuch long ſervices you ſhould "at length enjoy repoſe: You demand your diſ-"charge; I give it you; and when I have tri-"umphed with other ſoldiers, I will not fail of be-"ſtowing on you thoſe rewards which I have al-"ready promiſed you." The troops, who expect-ed to be entreated, were aſtoniſhed at the rea-dineſs with which their general conſented to part with them; their dejected countenances proclaim-ed their diſappointment; and their officers ſolicited the dictator not to treat with ſo much coldneſs the companions of his victories. With well-diſſembled firmneſs Cæſar affected to reſiſt their mediation; and as he again addreſſed himſelf to the troops, he pronounced the word *citizens*, which, oppoſed to that of *ſoldiers*, was conſidered by the military as a term of reproach, and was ſuppoſed to confirm their diſmiſſion. With grief and ſhame the muti-nous legions confeſſed the power of diſcipline; with one voice they implored their leader to reſtore them to his confidence, and to diſpoſe of their lives. After a ſhort pauſe Cæſar conſented to par-don; and at the head of a veteran and obedient army, he haſtened to reap in the field the harveſt of their ſubmiſſion.

With ſix legions and two thouſand horſe, about the middle of October, Cæſar embarked at Lilly-bæum; his fleet was diſperſed in a long and tem-

peſtuous

peſtuous paſſage; and with only three thouſand infantry, and one hundred and fifty horſe, he himſelf landed near Adrumetum, in the face of a ſuperior enemy. He truſted to his own genius and the terror of his name; and his adverſaries, alarmed and perplexed by the boldneſs and rapidity of his meaſures, followed with caution inſtead of attacking with vigour. In his march he accepted the ſubmiſſion of Ruſpina, and was received into Leptis; where he was ſoon after joined by the greateſt part of his fleet and army, which had eſcaped the ſtorm, and had ſteered for that harbour.

The moſt illuſtrious of the Romans, who had eſcaped from the defeat of Pharſalia, had united themſelves at Utica; they ſtill preſerved the name and forms of the commonwealth; and the councils of the ſenate were guided by the wiſdom and experience of Cato. The ſword of the republic was placed in the hand of Scipio; and while with the ſtrength of the legions he advanced to encounter the daring invader, his march was preceded by Labienus, at the head of a formidable cavalry, and ſuſtained by ſtrong and numerous cohorts of light infantry. Between Ruſpina and Leptis, Cæſar appears to have been ſuddenly attacked by Labienus; to have ſuffered ſome loſs, and to have extricated himſelf U. C. 707.

ſelf by one of thoſe ſpirited movements which diſtinguiſh an enterpriſing and judicious commander. He was however taught by this firſt eſſay to reſpect the force of the enemy; he retired to his poſt behind Ruſpina; and occupied the reſtleſs ſpirits of his troops in ſecuring his camp from inſult, and in conſtructing new works to preſerve his communication with the ſea.

He ſoon experienced the advantage of his precautions: A war with the king of Mauritania tranſiently diverted the forces of Numidia; but at the head of forty thouſand legionaries and four thouſand horſe, Scipio had already joined the troops of Labienus, ravaged the adjacent country, and menaced the camp of Cæſar. From the humiliating operations of defenſive war, Cæſar was again delivered by the arrival of two entire legions, and a thouſand ſlingers and archers. He immediately burſt the narrow circle of his entrenchments, ſeized the heights about Ruſpina, aſſerted his former aſcendancy in a ſucceſsful ſkirmiſh with the enemy, and threatened the ſiege of Uzita, where Scipio had depoſited his ſtores and eſtabliſhed his magazines.

While the hoſtile armies vigilantly obſerved each other's motions, Juba had repelled the invaſion of the king of Mauritania, and with the ſquadrons of Numidia ruſhed to the ſupport of Scipio.

Scipio. The zeal of the ninth and tenth legions, who had embarked for Africa without orders, increaſed the forces and reſtored the confidence of Cæſar. Near ſix months had been already conſumed in deſultory actions; and to provoke his enemy to a deciſive engagement, Cæſar ſuddenly quitted his camp, and by a rapid march inveſted Thapſus, a town which from its vicinity to the ſea, and the ſecurity of its harbour, was eſteemed of the higheſt importance.

To ſuccour the faithful garriſon of Thapſus, Scipio and Juba had advanced with their combined forces; and Cæſar, after leaving two legions to guard his camp, determined to ſtake his hopes on a general action. But the mind of Scipio was oppreſſed by the fortune and renown of his adverſary; he beheld himſelf with terror oppoſed to the conqueror of Pompey; and the fears of the leader were communicated to the boſoms of his followers: Irreſolute and deſponding, they ſhifted their ranks, and awaited with dejected countenances the ſignal for battle. The veterans of Cæſar beheld and exulted in the ſigns of their diſtraction; their impatient clamours reproached the calm courage of their chief; and Cæſar, to inflame an ardour which he was no longer able to reſtrain, commanded his trumpets to ſound, and at the head of his cavalry charged in perſon his trembling enemies.

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The ſquadrons of Numidia fled in diſorder before the fury of the legionaries; their example was followed by the cavalry of Scipio; and his infantry, after a faint reſiſtance, turned their backs, and fought their ſafety in flight. Inſatiate of blood, and regardleſs of the voice of their general, the victorious legions urged the ſlaughter with cruel diligence; ten thouſand of the vanquiſhed were extended lifeleſs on the field; and it was not until fatigue had allayed the rage of the victors, that they conſented to ſpare the ſuppliant ſurvivors.

The obſtinacy of the garriſon of Thapſus reſiſted the ſummons of Cæſar, who, impatient of delay, left the reduction of it to his lieutenant Caius Rubellius, and preſſed forwards to a conqueſt of greater importance. Within the walls of Utica, indifferent to his own life, Cato revolved in anxious ſuſpence the fortune of the republic: He was informed by the ſame meſſenger of the defeat of Scipio and the approach of Cæſar: He aſſembled the affrighted citizens, and endeavoured to revive their ardour in the cauſe of freedom. "If you are determined," ſaid he, "to ſubmit "to the conqueror, I ſhall aſcribe your reſolu- "tion to neceſſity; but if you ſtill intend to per- "ſevere in the defence of your liberties, I offer "myſelf as your leader in the glorious enter- "priſe. Your affairs are neither deſperate, nor

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" is the republic deſtitute of reſources; Rome " has frequently emerged out of greater difficul- " ties: Every victory has ſerved to increaſe the " enemies of Cæſar; Spain has already revolted " to the ſons of Pompey; and Italy impati- " ently awaits the moment to throw off the yoke " which ſhe has borne with indignation." He exhorted them to be inſtructed by the example of their adverſary himſelf; nor to decline in the vindication of their honour and their free- dom, thoſe toils and dangers which Cæſar en- countered, with alacrity in the paths of guilt and oppreſſion. The tranſient enthuſiaſm which his eloquence kindled, was ſoon overwhelmed by a ſenſe of their forlorn condition. " Who are " we," ſaid they, " and to whom do we refuſe " ſubmiſſion? Is not Cæſar inveſted with the " authority, and ſupported by the forces, of the " Roman empire? Shall we diſpute the poſſeſ- " ſion of Utica with him to whom Pompey and " all his adherents abandoned Italy? And when " the whole earth ſubmits to his yoke, ſhall we " undertake the defence of the Roman liberty?" Such were the inglorious reflections of the Uti- cans; who, to preſerve their, exiſtence were con- tent to drag the chain of deſpotiſm; and who were enamoured of life, though embittered by ſlavery.

Their

Their baſe deſpair fixed the reſolution of Cato. Educated in the boſom of a free and virtuous commonwealth, the deſcendant of the celebrated cenſor was early inſtructed to fear death leſs than ſervitude. The act of ſuicide was at leaſt *juſtified* by the religion of his country and the example of his anceſtors; and he prepared to meet with alacrity the mortal ſtroke which diſmiſſed him from the inſulting ſway of an hateful rival. The ſhort reſpite which he allowed himſelf he aſſiduouſly employed in facilitating the eſcape of thoſe who were moſt obnoxious to Cæſar: Satisfied with the punctual diſcharge of every duty, he ſupped with his uſual moderation and compoſure, retired early from table, and, after a ſhort ſlumber, threw himſelf on his ſword: The noiſe of his fall confirmed the apprehenſions of his friends; they ruſhed into his chamber, and found him on the floor, inſenſible, and weltering in his blood; their pious care dreſſed the wound; but no ſooner did he recover from his ſwoon, than he indignantly thruſt away the attendants, tore open his bowels, and inſtantly expired.

Thus periſhed in the forty-eighth year of his age, Marcus Porcius Cato, whoſe ruling paſſion was a ſteady and ſincere attachment to juſtice and freedom. In the indulgence of it he is accuſed of inconſiderate ſeverity, and of forgetting that

true

true virtue is placed at an equal diſtance from either extreme. But it muſt be remembered that his accuſers were a ſervile and degenerate race, ſunk in corruption, and impatient to ſubmit to the yoke of the conqueror. The effeminate citizens of Rome might arraign the Cynical moroſeneſs, or the timid Cicero might inſinuate the impolitic inflexibility of Cato; but his penetration, judgment, and fortitude, extorted even the admiration of his enemies; and the magnanimity with which he embraced death was worthy of the conſtancy with which he had lived.

As Cæſar rapidly advanced towards Utica, his ſpeed was ſuſpended by the intelligence of the ſubmiſſion of that city, and of the death of Cato. In his competition with Pompey, he had been ſtimulated by the thirſt of power and of glory; but his invariable enmity to Cato was founded on the different qualities and principles by which their early youth had been diſtinguiſhed, and the reputation of their manhood confirmed. Yet the victor admired and regretted the fate of the vanquiſhed; and a mind more covetous of applauſe than ſuſceptible of revenge, may vindicate from the ſuſpicion of inſincerity the involuntary exclamation, "O, Cato, I envy thee the glory of thy death, "ſince thou haſt envied me that of ſaving thy "life."

The deaths of Scipio and Juba, who turned their ſwords againſt their own boſoms, extinguiſhed the flames of war in Africa; the kingdom of Numidia ſunk into the condition of a Roman province; and the victor, embarking at Utica, after viſiting in his paſſage the iſland of Sardinia, landed in Italy. The obſequious ſenate crowded to meet him, conferred on him the title of dictator for ten years, and united with it the inquiſitorial powers of cenſor. New honours were invented and beſtowed by the adulation of that ſervile aſſembly: The example of Camillus might juſtify the claim of the conqueror of Gaul to four white horſes; but the dignity of the conſuls was obſcured by the golden chair which aroſe next the ſeats of thoſe magiſtrates, and the ſacred honours of a demi-god were impiouſly proſtituted to the ſucceſsful uſurper of his country's freedom.

The mind of Cæſar ſeems to have been incapable of ſuſtaining with becoming moderation the tide of fortune; and in accepting the diſtinctions offered to him, his vanity degraded thoſe abilities which muſt have extorted the homage of mankind. In his addreſs to the citizens of Rome, he aſſumed the language of a maſter; and though his thirſt of popularity allowed him not to tread the ſanguinary paths of Sylla, yet his ſentiments plainly revealed the conſciouſneſs of his own power,

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and his reſolution to maintain it. "Let no man," ſaid he, "imagine that under the favour of my "exalted ſituation, I ſhall indulge myſelf in thoſe "acts of ſeverity which I have cenſured in others; "the more my fortunes advance, the more I "will endeavour to uſe them properly: My "ſole object, while I ſtrove to riſe above my "enemies, was to ſecure myſelf a ſituation in "which I might exerciſe virtue with dignity and "ſafety; and I ſhall not now imitate the ex-"amples which I myſelf have often condemned, "nor fully the ſplendour of my victories by an "improper uſe of my power.

"As the favours of fortune are won by vigour, "ſo they are preſerved by moderation, and ſhould "be moſt carefully guarded by thoſe who enjoy "the greateſt ſhare of them. I covet ſincere af-"fection and genuine praiſe; not the adulation "that ſprings from fear and hatred. Theſe are "my ſerious thoughts, confirmed on reflection; "and you ſhall find me governed by them in all "the actions of my life. I do not mean to be "your lord or your tyrant, but your chief and "your leader: When the ſtate ſhall have oc-"caſion for my authority, you ſhall find in me a "dictator and a conſul; but on ordinary occa-"ſions, no more than a private man.

"I have ſpared many who were repeatedly in

" arms againſt me; I have ſhut my ears to in-
" formations of the hidden deſigns of others, and
" have deſtroyed all letters and papers which could
" lead to the diſcovery of my enemies. To moſt
" of you I can have no reſentment, and I do not
" incline to raiſe proſecutions againſt thoſe who
" may think they have incurred my diſpleaſure.
" Live, therefore, with me from this time for-
" ward in confidence as children with their father.
" I reſerve to myſelf the power of puniſhing the
" guilty, when juſtice requires; but will protect
" the innocent, and reward the deſerving."

Such was the memorable addreſs of Cæſar to the citizens of Rome; and though the multitude, enamoured of public ſpectacles and entertainments, adored the hand that nouriſhed them in idleneſs and luxury, yet the ſenate, conſcious of their former importance, could not help abhoring in ſecret the uſurper whom they condeſcended to conciliate by the moſt abject flattery: Even Cicero felt the humiliation of his condition; the favour of Cæſar could not eraſe from his mind the remembrance of the height from which he had fallen. His griefs were repoſed in the friendly boſom of Atticus. " What ſhall I do in times like theſe?
" books cannot always amuſe me: I go into
" company, affect to be noiſy, and laugh to
" conceal my ſorrow."

However

However the civil adminiſtration of Cæſar might be arraigned, his ſkill, his courage, and his fortune in war muſt have been univerſally acknowledged: Twelve years of ſucceſſive victory juſtified his claim to every martial honour which his country could beſtow: The ſolemn proceſſion was adorned by the ſpoils and captives of the nations that he had conquered; and four times as he aſcended in triumphal pomp the capitol, the joy and wonder of the applauding multitude proclaimed the renown of his atchievements in Gaul, in Egypt, in Aſia, and in Africa. Yet he prudently forbore to inſult the miſery of his country by any alluſion to the guilty fields of Pharſalia or Thapſus: It was the policy of the victor to divert the minds of the people from the horrors of civil war; theatrical repreſentations, the games of the circus, the hunting of wild beaſts, combats of gladiators, and naval engagements, were celebrated with unuſual magnificence; and the fidelity of the army, and the acclamations of the multitude, were ſecured by liberal donatives.

Amidſt the applauſe of a venal crowd, the dictator was ſenſible that his power was far from being firmly eſtabliſhed; the ſons of Pompey, in Spain, ſtill rejected his authority; and at the head of a numerous and veteran army, threatened to avenge the fate of their father. To encounter the grow-

ing danger, a ſhort time after his triumph, Cæſar again took the field. His rapid paſſage from Rome to Saguntum revived the hopes of his friends, and confounded the deſigns of his enemies; the walls of Ulia had been already ſhaken by the engines of the elder Pompey; but on the approach of Cæſar he abandoned the prey, joined the forces of his brother Sextus, and in the plains of Munda erected again the ſtandard of the republic, and prepared to contend for the dominion of Rome.

U. C. 708. Confiding in his former fortune, and impatient to extinguiſh the flames of civil diſcord, Cæſar ruſhed to the encounter. The troops of Pompey were chiefly compoſed of the veterans who had ſerved under Petreius and Afranius, and who could not hope to experience a ſecond time the clemency of their adverſary; their valour was guided by the ſkill and experience of Labienus: The legions of Cæſar ſhrunk from the united efforts of rage and deſpair, and during a few moments the fame and perſon of their leader appeared irretrievably loſt. As he flew to the poſt of danger, he indignantly exclaimed, "Since "you are determined to deliver your general to "boys, this ſhall be the laſt day of my life, and "of your ſervices." His voice and example revived the fainting ſpirits of his ſoldiers; ſhame

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ſupplied the place of courage; and before the cloſe of day, their honour was retrieved, and the authority of their general eſtabliſhed, by the ſlaughter of thirty thouſand of their adverſaries.

In the field of battle Labienus had found an honourable death; and the flight of Cnæus Pompey ſerved only to protract a few weeks a miſerable and inglorious exiſtence; he was purſued, taken, and ſlain by Quintus Didius, the admiral of Cæſar. His brother Sextus with better fortune eſcaped to the Celtiberian mountains, to deplore in thoſe ſolitary receſſes the unhappy fate of his friends and his family.

On the victory of Munda were founded the confidence and deſtruction of Cæſar. Corrupted by his fortune, or raiſed above diſſimulation, his arrogance trampled on the feelings and prejudices of the citizens of Rome: He preſumed to diſplay in guilty triumph his new laurels; but the riſing murmurs, even of his own ſoldiers, accuſed the invidious proceſſion which expoſed amongſt the trophies of victory, the image of the ſon of Pompey the *Great*: Yet this inſult was ſoon forgotten in an injury more daring and more general. From the expulſion of the Tarquins, the diadem had been abhorred by the Romans as the odious enſign of royalty; yet, on a ſacred feſtival, the confidential hand of Mark Antony had proffered to the

acceptance of Cæſar this deteſted mark of regal power. It was faintly rejected; and the free and unanimous acclamations of the multitude proclaimed their hatred of kingly ſway. Diſguſted by their unwelcome applauſe, the dictator retired in ſilence; and conſcious that the eſteem of mankind could only be retained by a ſeries of ſucceſsful and ſplendid atchievements, he prepared to extort in the camp that veneration which had been denied him in the capital.

His vaſt and unbounded genius already revolved the moſt arduous projects and moſt daring enterprizes: To drain the Pomptine marſhes, an immenſe tract of unhealthy ground, the peſtiferous vapours of which ſtill infect the air of Italy; to conſtruct a ſafe and capacious harbour at Oſtia; to render the Tiber navigable to Rome; to perforate the Appennines; and to connect by a wide and ſolid road the Hadriatic ſea with the capital. But the thirſt of martial glory was ſtill the ruling paſſion of Cæſar: He had aſſembled a numerous army in Macedonia; and it was his intention after chaſtiſing the Dacians, who had preſumed to violate the Roman territory, to invade Parthia, to avenge the fate of Craſſus, and aſſert the majeſty of Rome. Thence penetrating through Hyrcania, and ſubjecting the tribes which inhabited the coaſts of the Caſpian ſea, he deſigned to traverſe mount Caucaſus,

Caucaſus, and to purſue his victorious career through Scythia, through Germany and Gaul, to the frontiers of Italy.

While the mind of Cæſar indulged the ſplendid illuſion, and erected his viſionary trophies on the banks of the Tigris, his power and his life already rapidly approached their end. The Romans had been bent, but not cruſhed by the tempeſt of military violence; their indignation was revived by the late offer of Mark Antony: It could no longer be concealed that Cæſar aſpired to the crown; the obſequious augurs had pronounced that the Parthians could only be ſubdued by a king; and though Italy and the capital were to be exempted from the odious ſpectacle, it was expected that a decree of the ſenate would authorize him to diſplay the enſigns of royalty in his progreſs through the proſtrate provinces.

A lively ſenſe of this laſt inſult to expiring freedom, rouzed from their inactivity an illuſtrious band of Romans, whoſe haughty ſpirits had ill-brooked the imperious ſway of Cæſar, and who now devoted their lives to the deſtruction of the uſurper. That thoſe who had eſcaped from Pharſalia, from Thapſus, and from Munda, ſhould be impatient to avenge in the blood of the victor the fate of their ſlaughtered aſſociates, was neither extraordinary nor aſtoniſhing: But ſome ſurprize may

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be excited in finding among the conſpirators thoſe who in the civil war had followed with alacrity the ſtandard of Cæſar; had ſupported his pretenſions by their arms, and had been adorned with wealth and honours by his gratitude. Trebonius and Decimus Brutus had eminently diſplayed their zeal and abilities in the reduction of Marſeilles; while the former preſſed the ſiege by land, the latter with an inferior fleet had triumphed at ſea; and in the arrangement for the adminiſtration of the commonwealth, during the propoſed abſence of the dictator, he had been placed the ſecond in ſucceſſion for the conſulſhip. Both entered with ardour into a deſign which was founded on the death of him whom they had long loved and admired. Yet it muſt be remembered, that in his firſt meaſures Cæſar had declared himſelf the protector of the people; that he had affected to arm in defence of the violated laws, and the ſacred perſons of the tribunes. No ſooner did he openly avow his intention to ſubvert the eſtabliſhed government, than he awakened the jealouſy and enfuſed the hatred of all who, from the luſtre of extraction or genius, could aſpire to political importance; or who, from principle or education, revered the authority of the ſenate and the equal conſtitution of the republic.

Among theſe, the moſt conſpicuous were Marcus Brutus

Brutus and Caius Caſſius, who jointly exerciſed with rigid and impartial juſtice the office of prætors of Rome. Brutus was the nephew of Cato, by his ſiſter Servilia; but Servilia had ſcorned to imitate the ſtrict virtues of her brother; her contempt of chaſtity, and her connexion with Cæſar, had provoked the ſcandal of Rome; and above diſguiſe, ſhe avowed the object of her licentious deſires, and gloried in the infamy of her conduct. Her huſband had been aſſociated in the hopes, and involved in the ruin of the party of Marius; and the early years of Marcus Brutus were committed to the ſtern tuition of his uncle Cato: By his care he was trained in the ſtudy of polite literature, of eloquence, and of philoſophy; and from him he had imbibed the moſt juſt notions of the dignity of human nature, an ardent love of freedom, and a magnanimous diſdain for life. His father had been executed by the connivance at leaſt, if not by the command of Pompey; and the filial piety of the ſon was diſplayed in the reſentment which he cheriſhed againſt that leader. In the proſperous fortunes of Pompey, Brutus had never condeſcended to ſpeak to, or ſalute him; but no ſooner were the banners of civil diſcord unfurled, than he ſacrificed his private revenge to the public good; and followed the ſtandard of the chief whoſe perſon he deteſted, but whoſe party he

he approved: With him he beheld the diſaſtrous field of Pharſalia. Amidſt the exultation of victory, the mind of Cæſar was ſtill anxious to preſerve the ſon of Servilia; and the concern he betrayed at his danger, and the joy which he expreſſed at his ſafety, might authorize the popular opinion which aſcribed the birth of Brutus to the amorous intercourſe between Cæſar and Servilia. The ſuppoſition is weakened, if not deſtroyed, by an appeal to their mutual ages; Cæſar was in his fifty-ſixth, and Brutus his forty-firſt year; nor is it probable that the former had aſcended the guilty bed of Servilia before he had attained the age of fifteen. Yet grateful to the affection of the mother, he watched with tender ſolicitude over the fortunes of the ſon. He had appointed him to the government of Ciſalpine Gaul, and preferred him to the dignity of prætor of Rome. Yet every favour was poiſoned by the lawleſs claim of the donor. His admiration of Cato; his marriage with Porcia, the daughter of that virtuous patriot; the fame of his nameſake, who had delivered Rome from the iron rule of the Tarquins; the ſenſe of his own ſervile condition; but, above all, the injuries which had been offered to his country, roſe inceſſantly to the mind of Brutus; he bluſhed at his own ignominious patience; and his indignation was inflamed, and his reſolution confirmed, by the converſation

converſation and congenial ſentiments of Caius Caſſius.

Caius Caſſius was deſcended from one of the moſt ancient and honourable families of the republic, and was early diſtinguiſhed for his high and determined ſpirit. Whilſt yet a boy, and when Sylla was at the height of his power, he had ſtruck the ſon of the dictator for having ſaid that "his father was the maſter of the Roman people." The tutor of young Sylla complained of the inſult to Pompey; and Caſſius on being queſtioned by the latter, boldly replied, "Let him repeat the words, "and I will ſtrike him again in this preſence." His wit, his learning, and his temperance, were univerſally acknowledged and eſteemed; and his ſkill and courage had been eſtabliſhed in repeated conflicts with the Parthians. In the commencement of the civil war, he had conducted the ſquadrons of Syria to the ſupport of Pompey; and even after the unhappy fate of the latter, had projected the deſtruction of the victor, who avoided the ſnare, by landing on the oppoſite ſide of the Cydnus from that on which he was expected. Diſappointed in his deſign, Caſſius had ſuſpended all further oppoſition, and retired to Rome; where his marriage with Tertulla, the ſiſter of Brutus, had ſtrengthened the bonds of political, by thoſe of domeſtic, union.

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latter with an inferior fleet had triumphed at ſea; and in the arrangement for the adminiſtration of the commonwealth, during the propoſed abſence of the dictator, he had been placed the ſecond in ſucceſſion for the conſulſhip. Both entered with ardour into a deſign which was founded on the death of him whom they had long loved and admired. Yet it muſt be remembered, that in his firſt meaſures Cæſar had declared himſelf the protector of the people; that he had affected to arm in defence of the violated laws, and the ſacred perſons of the tribunes. No ſooner did he openly avow his intention to ſubvert the eſtabliſhed government, than he awakened the jealouſy and enfured the hatred of all who, from the luſtre of extraction or genius, could aſpire to political importance; or who, from principle or education, revered the authority of the ſenate and the equal conſtitution of the republic.

Among theſe, the moſt conſpicuous were Marcus Brutus

[illegible] the object of her li-
centious deſires, and gloried in the infamy of her conduct. Her huſband had been aſſociated in the hopes, and involved in the ruin of the party of Marius; and the early years of Marcus Brutus were committed to the ſtern tuition of his uncle Cato: By his care he was trained in the ſtudy of polite literature, of eloquence, and of philoſophy; and from him he had imbibed the moſt juſt notions of the dignity of human nature, an ardent love of freedom, and a magnanimous diſdain for life. His father had been executed by the connivance at leaſt, if not by the command of Pompey; and the filial piety of the ſon was diſplayed in the reſentment which he cheriſhed againſt that leader. In the proſperous fortunes of Pompey, Brutus had never condeſcended to ſpeak to, or ſalute him; but no ſooner were the banners of civil diſcord unfurled, than he ſacrificed his private revenge to the public good; and followed the ſtandard of the chief whoſe perſon he deteſted, but whoſe party

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he approved: With him he beheld the diſaſtrous field of Pharſalia. Amidſt the exultation of victory, the mind of Cæſar was ſtill anxious to preſerve the ſon of Servilia; and the concern he betrayed at his danger, and the joy which he expreſſed at his ſafety, might authorize the popular opinion which aſcribed the birth of Brutus to the amorous intercourſe between Cæſar and Servilia. The ſuppoſition is weakened, if not deſtroyed, by an appeal to their mutual ages; Cæſar was in his fifty-ſixth, and Brutus his forty-firſt year; nor is it probable that the former had aſcended the guilty bed of Servilia before he had attained the age of fifteen. Yet grateful to the affection of the mother, he watched with tender ſolicitude over the fortunes of the ſon. He had appointed him to the government of Ciſalpine Gaul, and preferred him to the dignity of prætor of Rome. Yet every favour was poiſoned by the lawleſs claim of the donor. His admiration of Cato; his marriage with Porcia, the daughter of that virtuous patriot; the fame of his nameſake, who had delivered Rome from the iron rule of the Tarquins; the ſenſe of his own ſervile condition; but, above all, the injuries which had been offered to his country, roſe inceſſantly to the mind of Brutus; he bluſhed at his own ignominious patience; and his indignation was inflamed, and his reſolution confirmed, by the converſation

converſation and congenial ſentiments of Caius Caſſius.

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The influence of Brutus and Caſſius had gradually formed and extended the powerful confederacy; the important ſecret had already been imparted to near ſixty of their friends: The conſpirators had determined to ſtrike the blow, which was to reſtore the freedom of the republic, in the midſt of the ſenate; and it was ſuppoſed the preſence of that aſſembly would give dignity and ſolemnity to the action. It was propoſed by Caſſius to include Mark Antony in the fate of Cæſar; but the counſel was over-ruled by the humanity or policy of Brutus: "Let us not," ſaid he, "ſeem to act as if we were inſtigated by revenge, "or as if we rather aimed to revive the party of "Pompey, than re-eſtabliſh the liberties of the "republic."

Though in the Forum, during the interval of anxious ſuſpence, Brutus might maintain a ſteady and unaltered countenance, yet in the leſs guarded moments at home his features betrayed the agitation of his mind; he was thoughtful, reſtleſs, and impatient; power may indeed ſleep, but love is ever wakeful; and Porcia perceived with concern the inquietude, and with indignation, the reſerve of her huſband: To ſhare his counſels rather than his bed was the object of the high-ſpirited matron, who conſidered herſelf aſſociated by the marriage ceremony to his danger

ger and his glory; yet confidence could be merited alone by the proof of reſolution. In ſecret ſhe inflicted on her thigh a deep and dangerous wound; ſhe long bore the pain with apparent indifference; and when at laſt ſhe diſcloſed the deed to her aſtoniſhed conſort, "Learn from this," ſaid ſhe, "that the wife of Brutus, and the daughter of "Cato, is not unworthy of your confidence." Her magnanimity extorted the important ſecret; and if the prudence of Brutus may be arraigned by the arrogance of man, the fidelity of Porcia may vindicate the conſtancy of woman.

Yet the utmoſt caution of the conſpirators could not entirely elude ſuſpicion: The rumour of a deſign againſt the life of Cæſar was already circulated through the capital; it had even reached the ears of the dictator; but he was fortified againſt the admonitions of his friends by a confidence in his own fortune, by a contempt for his enemies, and by an indifference to danger; He conſidered life as unworthy his care if it was ever to be accompanied by diſtruſt; and in a familiar converſation at the houſe of Lepidus, the night before his aſſaſſination, had maintained that death to be the moſt eligible which was leaſt expected.

If we could truſt to the pages of Suetonius, the portents and prodigies which predicted the deſtruction of Cæſar were neither few nor doubtful:

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Some horſes, which on his croſſing the Rubicon he had conſecrated and turned looſe to graze, abſtained from food, and wept plentifully; a wren which had flown into Pompey's ſenate-houſe with a ſprig of laurel, was purſued and torn to pieces there by a number of other birds; the ſlumbers of Calphurnia had been broken by a viſion which preſented the murder of her huſband; groans had been heard in the ſilence of the night; armies had been ſeen to combat in the air; and at a ſolemn ſacrifice, the appearance of the victims had threatened events the moſt inauſpicious.

Had Cæſar deigned to have conſulted his boſom, and eſtimated the ſpirit of his fellow citizens from his own, he would have diſcovered by ſigns leſs ambiguous his approaching fate. He had invaded the laws, and inſulted the feelings of his country; and as long as a ſpark of Roman patriotiſm remained, he could neither expect nor hope for ſafety. But the voice of reaſon had yielded to the inſinuations of flattery; and he readily liſtened to the ſuggeſtions of a courtly train, who repreſented his fortune erected on an height which mocked the feeble attempts of revenge or ambition.

The tranſient heſitation that was inſpired by the fears of Calphurnia was vanquiſhed by the

inſidious repreſentations of Decimus Brutus: — "Will you adjourn the Roman ſenate until the "wife of Cæſar has more auſpicious dreams?" was the ſarcaſtic obſervation which awakened the pride, and overwhelmed the reluctance of the dictator; he reſumed his wonted ſpirit, and with a ſteady ſtep, amidſt a ſuppliant multitude, advanced to meet his fate.

The conſpirators themſelves had not been without their ſhare of alarm and anxiety; they tottered on the brink of diſcovery: As Brutus and Caſſius, in the capacity of prætors, adminiſtered juſtice in the Forum, they were accoſted by Popilius Lænas: "I pray God that the deſign "which you have in view may ſucceed; but "avoid delay." The expreſſion ſufficiently appriſed them that the conſpiracy was known; and while they deliberated on what meaſures they ſhould purſue, their hopes were revived by the welcome information that Cæſar was proceeding to the ſenate. They haſtened to aſſume their ſeats in that aſſembly; and while they awaited the arrival of the deſtined victim, the fortitude of Brutus was again aſſailed by intelligence of the indiſpoſition of Porcia. As the moment of enterpriſe approached, the fears of her ſex had prevailed; her ſpirit had yielded to the agitation of her mind; and ſhe had been conveyed, without ſenſe or mo-

tion, in the arms of her attendants, to her apartment.

The feelings of the huſband were ſuſpended by the duties of the patriot; and the affliction of Brutus was interrupted by the entrance of Cæſar. Yet the conſpirators could not obſerve without emotion the latter in earneſt converſation with Popilius Lænas; and their looks admoniſhed each other, "that it would be better to die by their own "hands, than to fall into the power of their ene-"my." Their apprehenſions were diſſipated by the ſmile of Lænas; and, conſcious of the danger of delay, they determined on the immediate execution of their enterpriſe.

As the dictator aſſumed his chair near the pedeſtal of the ſtatue of Pompey, he was arreſted by the ſuppliant poſture of Tullius Cimber, who intreated the pardon of his brother; while Cæſar reſiſted the ſolicitations of Cimber, he received in his neck the dagger of Caſca. He ſtarted from his ſeat, and turned to ſeize the aſſaſſin; thirty daggers glittered before his eyes; yet, unarmed and unaſſiſted, he ſtill ſtood at bay, and like a lion ruſhed upon his hunters, when he beheld amidſt the aſſailants the countenance of his beloved Brutus; "Art *thou* too there?" was the ſhort exclamation, which might reproach his own credulity, or the ingratitude of Brutus. He inſtantly abandoned

doned all further reſiſtance; and covering his knees with his robe, that he might fall with greater decency, ſunk pierced with twenty-three wounds. The ſtatue of Pompey was ſprinkled with his blood; nor did ſuperſtition fail to obſerve, that he at laſt expired before the image of that rival whom he had betrayed, oppreſſed, and ſacrificed to his ambition.

Thus periſhed Caius Julius Cæſar, whoſe character muſt only expoſe the feeble pen that attempts it, and whoſe genius, powerful and ſublime, ſoars beyond the reach of obſervation. Yet to the curioſity of the reader a faint and imperfect ſketch may not be entirely unacceptable: He was tall, fair, and of a vigorous conſtitution; and in the care of his perſon had incurred the imputation of effeminacy; but even his enemies could not deny him the virtues of a ſoldier and a general, of an orator and a ſtateſman. In riding, in throwing the javelin, and in all martial exerciſes, he acquitted himſelf with wonderful dexterity. He was provident in council, rapid in execution, and intrepid in action. He poſſeſſed beyond all other commanders the ſingular faculty of attaching to himſelf the eſteem and affection of his ſoldiers; and though in the moments of peace he indulged them in every pleaſure, in war he exacted from them the ſevereſt diſcipline. In the

opinion of Quintilian he ſpoke with the ſame force with which he fought; and had he devoted himſelf to the bar, would alone have been capable of rivalling Cicero: The purity and elegance of his Commentaries have commanded the approbation of Cicero, and the admiration of poſterity at the diſtance of eighteen centuries. In his capacity of dictator he reformed the Roman year, encouraged population, and endeavoured to check the progreſs of luxury; in private life he was polite, generous, and ſincere; faithful to his friends, and liberal to his dependants. But above all, in a fierce and ſanguinary age, when the minds of men were inflamed by the rage of faction, he was diſtinguiſhed by his admirable clemency and humanity; and the enemies whom he frequently vanquiſhed and diſmiſſed muſt have reluctantly confeſſed, could the republic have endured the yoke of a maſter, he beſt merited the empire of the Roman world.

Chapter the Thirty-Seventh.

CONDUCT OF THE CONSPIRATORS.—THEY POSSESS THEMSELVES OF THE CAPITAL.—STATE OF PARTIES AT ROME.—MEASURES OF ANTONY.—ACTS OF CÆSAR CONFIRMED.—INTERVIEW BETWEEN ANTONY AND LEPIDUS, AND BRUTUS AND CASSIUS.—WILL AND FUNERAL OF CÆSAR.—TUMULT OF THE POPULACE.—THE CONSPIRATORS LEAVE ROME.—ANTONY INGRATIATES HIMSELF WITH THE VETERANS.—NEGOCIATES WITH SEXTUS POMPEY.—OBTAINS FOR HIMSELF THE PROVINCE OF MACEDONIA, AND THAT OF SYRIA FOR DOLABELLA.—OCTAVIUS ARRIVES AT ROME.—DIFFERS WITH ANTONY.—HE IS SUPPORTED BY CICERO.—SEDITION OF THE TROOPS.—ANTONY QUITS ROME TO POSSESS HIMSELF OF CISALPINE GAUL.—INVESTS DECIMUS BRUTUS IN MUTINA.—ACTIONS BEFORE THAT CITY.—DEATHS OF THE CONSULS HIRTIUS AND PANSA.—FLIGHT OF ANTONY TOWARDS THE ALPS.—SUCCESS OF MARCUS BRUTUS IN MACEDONIA.—OF CASSIUS IN SYRIA.—FATE OF DOLABELLA.—ANTONY IS JOINED BY THE ARMIES OF GAUL AND SPAIN.—OCTAVIUS IS MADE CONSUL.—IS DISCONTENTED WITH THE SENATE.—HIS INTERVIEW WITH

ANTONY AND LEPIDUS.—NEW TRIUMVIRATE.—EDICT OF PROSCRIPTION.—DEATH OF MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO.

U. C. 709. THE ſtroke which extinguiſhed the authority and life of Cæſar, was beheld in ſilent aſtoniſhment by the ſenate; was applauded as the act of patriotiſm and Roman virtue by Cicero; but was received with ſecret diſapprobation by the people, who forgot the uſurpation, and remembered only the indulgence and liberality of the dictator. After a feeble and unſucceſsful attempt to animate the multitude by the ſacred name of liberty, the conſpirators retired to the Capitol, the avenues of which they had ſecured by a numerous band of gladiators, and awaited with patient vigilance the conſequences of their own daring deed.

Antony was already in the poſſeſſion of the enſigns of the conſulſhip; and Dolabella, who had been nominated to ſucceed to that dignity on the departure of Cæſar, ſeized, on the intelligence of his death, the vacant chair. Hirtius and Panſa, who had ſhared the favour and confidence of the late dictator, were conſuls elect; and for the following year that important office was deſtined to Decimus Brutus and Lucius Munatius Plancus: In the ſuburbs, Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, a man of mean capacity

capacity but profligate diſpoſition, and who had been appointed to the government of Spain, commanded a veteran legion; and poſſeſſed of the only military force in Italy, wanted but reſolution and abilities to erect himſelf into the maſter of the Roman world.

While Antony, rather aſtoniſhed than diſmayed, obſerved in ſilence, or fomented in ſecret, the diſcontents of the people, his colleague, Dolabella, yielded to the natural impetuoſity or levity of his temper; by aſſuming an office, which had been allotted him by the ſingle voice of Cæſar, he had acknowledged as legal the authority of the late dictator; yet in an addreſs to the ſenate he inveighed againſt the memory of the tyrant, celebrated the virtues of Brutus and Caſſius, and moved that the reſtorers of their country's freedom ſhould be invited to aſſume their ſeats in the grand council of the republic. Encouraged by the avowed approbation of the conſul, Brutus and Caſſius deſcended from the Capitol, enjoyed the free applauſe of the ſenate, but were liſtened to with leſs partiality by the people. Their propoſal to ſuſpend the proſecution, and decree the recall of Sextus Pompey, the illuſtrious ſurvivor of a noble family which had been ſacrificed in the defence of the republic, was received with diſguſt or indifference; and the conſpirators, convinced that they

could neither depend on the ſupport nor the moderation of the multitude, retired again to the ſecurity of their former ſtation.

The interval which had been conſumed by the conſpirators in a vain attempt to conciliate the affections of the people, was employed by Antony with greater ſucceſs and dexterity. Emerging from his pleaſures, he prepared for the approaching conteſt with vigour and intrepidity. His guilty alliance with Lepidus was revealed by his permitting the latter to occupy the vacant dignity of ſupreme pontiff; his contempt of the conſtitution was proclaimed by ſeizing the public treaſure which the late dictator had depoſited in the temple of Ops; he ſilently ſummoned to the capital the veterans who had conquered under the ſtandard, and were attached to the memory of Cæſar; and he induſtriouſly inflamed the minds of the multitude, and artfully improved their diſcontent to his own advantage.

Strong in the eſteem of the army and the people, he ventured more openly to diſcloſe his ſentiments; in the ſenate he combated with addreſs and eloquence a motion which had been made to reſcind the acts, and condemn the memory of Cæſar: "If you declare, conſcript fathers," ſaid he, "the late dictator a tyrant; if you impeach "the lawfulneſs of his adminiſtration, reflect for a moment

"a moment on the ſcenes of confuſion which "muſt enſue; the republic will be without ma- "giſtrates, the provinces without governors, and "the armies without commanders; ſince all our "offices, our dignities, and our appointments are "derived from Cæſar alone. If you are inſenſible "to theſe conſiderations, let your own danger in- "ſtruct you. Will the veterans, do you think, "who have not yet laid down their arms, and of "whom thouſands are aſſembled in the capital; "will they ſuffer themſelves tamely to be ſtripped "of the grants which they have merited by their "long and faithful ſervices? Their indignant cla- "mours already menace the authors of our pre- "ſent diſtreſſes; and will they, do you imagine, "behold with patience the body of their favourite "leader dragged with ignominy through the ſtreets "of Rome?" The powerful motives of intereſt and fear were felt and acknowledged by the ſenate; the acts of Cæſar were ratified; yet the danger of the conceſſion did not eſcape the penetration of Cicero. "The tyrant," ſays he, in a letter to Atticus, "is no more; but the tyranny ſtill "ſubſiſts; we expreſs great joy at his death, yet "at the ſame time we confirm all his ordinances."

While Antony defended the fame and authority of Cæſar, he ſtill affected to reſpect the ſafety of Brutus and Caſſius. The ſame decree which con-

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firmed the acts of the late dictator, prohibited all profecutions on account of his death. The conſpirators were again invited from the capitol; and the entertainment which they accepted from Antony and Lepidus, was conſidered as the pledge of their mutual confidence and friendſhip.

The deceitful calm was of ſhort duration; the ambition of Antony, inſtead of being ſatisfied, was inflamed by ſucceſs; the grandeur, and not the fate of the dictator, was continually before his eyes. He prevailed on the ſenate to ſuffer the private teſtament of Cæſar to be read to the people; and that his funeral ſhould be ſolemnized at the public expence. On a purple couch, glittering with gold, the body of Cæſar was diſplayed to the ſurrounding multitude, who contemplated in ſolemn ſilence the awful ſpectacle. Their attention was recalled from the mournful object by the preſence of Antony, who pronounced with a loud but broken voice the will of Cæſar: It bequeathed his patrimonial eſtate, with his name, to Octavius, the grandſon of his ſiſter Julia; and in caſe of his death, it was to paſs to Decimus Brutus: It appropriated his ſtately gardens on the banks of the Tiber to the amuſements of the Roman people; and it diſplayed his conſtant regard to their intereſts by the legacy of three hundred ſeſterces to every citizen.

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While the boſoms of his hearers yet glowed with gratitude, their paſſions were inflamed by the arts and eloquence of Antony. As he pointed to the mangled corpſe of the conqueror of Gaul, he recalled to their minds his illuſtrious deſcent, his unequalled abilities, and unrivalled atchievements; in lively colours he painted his clemency, his liberality, and his magnanimity: "Yet all theſe," exclaimed he, "could not ſave him from the "daggers of the envious and the ungrateful; his "body deformed with wounds, and his grey hairs "clotted with blood, are now expoſed in that "Forum which he has ſo often adorned with his "triumphs; and near that roſtrum from which he "has ſo often captivated the people of Rome by "his eloquence."

The expectations of Antony were juſtified by the rage of the impetuous multitude; their looks, their geſtures, and ſanguinary menaces, proclaimed their deadly intentions: They diſperſed themſelves in frantic troops through the ſtreets; committed to the flames the houſes of the principal conſpirators; maſſacred all whom they ſuſpected of being concerned in, or even approving the death of Cæſar; and for ſeveral days inſulted by their tumultuous vengeance the ſafety of the capital. The tempeſt was huſhed by the ſame breath as had arouſed it; and at the powerful voice of Antony

tony the populace ſunk into their former inactivity.

The ſedition could not fail of reviving the apprehenſions of the conſpirators and their adherents; they determined to withdraw from a capital where their perſons were no longer ſafe. Brutus and Caſſius fixed their reſidence at Lanuvium; Cicero indulged a life of ſolitude and privacy at one of his villas; while Decimus Brutus and Trebonius eſcaped to their reſpective provinces of Ciſalpine Gaul and Aſia.

Their retreat left Antony in quiet poſſeſſion of the capital; he ſtill continued his profeſſions of regard towards Brutus and Caſſius; but his preparations for war were vigorous and inceſſant. In a ſhort and rapid progreſs through Campania, he viſited the ſettlements of the veterans who had ſerved under Cæſar; and on his return he purchaſed the concurrence of Dolabella, who had hitherto eſpouſed the party of the conſpirators, by relinquiſhing a portion of the treaſures which he had ſeized in the temple of Ops.

The intelligence of the death of Cæſar had reſtored the hopes and ſwelled the forces of Sextus Pompey; ſeven legions already acknowledged his authority; and the cities of Spain were impatient to call him maſter. But the inglorious youth betrayed by his irreſolution the faireſt proſpect of victory: He liſtened to the inſidious negociations

ſociations of Lepidus; and conſented to barter his hopes of vengeance and empire for the ſucceſſion to the eſtates of his father and the doubtful authority of high admiral of Rome.

The advantages which Antony derived from his courage and addreſs were in ſome meaſure diminiſhed by the profligacy of his own conduct, and by the unbounded arrogance of his wife. He had eſpouſed Fulvia, the widow of Clodius; and that daring and licentious woman, who ſeems to have ſucceeded to the paſſions and vices of her former huſband, inſulted by her venality the juſtice, and diſtracted by her turbulence the repoſe of the capital. Her chamber was the place of rendezvous for all the young libertines of Rome; and there were expoſed to ſale every appointment of the republic, and every dignity of the ſtate.

In a meeting of the ſenate, Antony extorted for himſelf the adminiſtration of Macedonia, with the command of the army which had been deſtined for the invaſion of Parthia; for Dolabella he procured the wealthy province of Syria; but to Brutus and Caſſius, who in quality of prætors were entitled to governments, was entruſted the unimportant duty of inſpecting the ſupplies of corn from Aſia and Sicily.

Conſcious of the inſult that was intended, both Brutus and Caſſius rejected the ignominious charge; they

they conſidered the injurious conduct of Antony as the ſignal of open war; and immediately quitted Italy for Greece, to ſupport by arms their pretenſions to Macedonia and Syria, provinces which had been deſigned for them by the late dictator.

While the attention of Antony was directed to the deſtruction of the conſpirators, he himſelf was ſurpriſed by the appearance of a new competitor, whoſe youthful ambition and illuſtrious connexions ſupplied the want of experience and reputation. Octavius, on his father's ſide, derived his deſcent from an obſcure family in Aricia; but he was the grandſon of the ſiſter of Cæſar, was the adopted heir of the dictator, and was conſidered by the adherents of his uncle as the legal ſucceſſor to his name and fortunes. At the early age of nineteen his aſpiring mind diſdained the more cautious counſels of his mother Accia, and his father-in-law Phillippus: It was in vain they ſolicited him to decline the dangerous honour of a ſurname which muſt expoſe him to the jealouſy of all good patriots; he rejected their advice; preſented himſelf at Rome; and demanded from Antony an account of the money which had been depoſited in the temple of Ops, that he might diſcharge the legacies left to the Roman people. At the ſame time he expoſtulated with him on

his

his remiſſneſs in avenging the murder of Cæſar, and in ſuffering the aſſaſſins, not only to eſcape from puniſhment, but to poſſeſs themſelves of the adminiſtration of the provinces. The reply of Antony was haughty and forbidding. He obſerved to him, that Cæſar had diverted to his private uſe a conſiderable part of the public treaſure; and that in the adjuſtment of his accounts large deficiencies would doubtleſs appear. He deſired him to reflect, that it was owing to his zeal that the late dictator was not declared an uſurper and a tyrant; and his body dragged through the ſtreets of Rome, and ignominiouſly thrown into the Tiber; and he admoniſhed not to aſpire, with the inheritance, to the dignities of his deceaſed uncle; but to remember in whoſe preſence he ſtood; and to reſpect the authority of a Roman conſul, who muſt be equally indifferent to his praiſe and his cenſure.

The ſpirit of Octavius was inflamed inſtead of depreſſed by the inſolence of Antony. To diſcharge the legacies of his uncle to the people, he expoſed to auction his own eſtates, and the reverſion of his mother's; he celebrated with magnificence the games which were inſtituted in memory of Cæſar; and conciliated the affections of the veterans by the ardent deſire which he avowed to avenge the fate of their much loved leader.

The

The growing diſcord of Octavius and Antony revived the drooping ſpirits of the republican party; the cauſe of freedom and the ſenate was ſupported in an independent oration by Piſo; and Cicero, diſdaining his former fears, reſumed the courage which he had diſplayed againſt Cataline, returned to Rome, and aſtoniſhed and animated again the ſenate by the fire of his eloquence.

Whatever might be the reſolution of Octavius, he was ſenſible of the advantages which Antony poſſeſſed by his public ſtation. To balance the power of the conſul he determined to avail himſelf of the eloquence of Cicero: He promiſed to be guided by the advice of that ſtateſman; and the veteran orator liſtened with fond credulity to the inſidious profeſſions of a boy, who flattered only to betray; and whoſe convenient conſcience, as intereſt prompted, releaſed him from the moſt ſacred oaths, and the moſt ſolemn treaties.

Could Antony have depended on the fidelity and affections of the army, he might have deſpiſed the impotent confederacy. But nouriſhed in the licence of civil war, the troops had become impatient of juſt ſubordination; they adored the name and family of Cæſar; they deſpiſed the title of conſul; and while Antony prepared to extort from the ſenate the moſt ſevere decrees againſt Octavius and Cicero, he was alarmed by the intelligence

telligence that the *fourth* and the *martial* legion had rejected his authority; had advanced towards Alba, and declared their reſolution to defend with their ſwords the life and honours of the nephew of Cæſar. He quitted Rome with precipitation; exchanged the robe of conſul for the habit of a general; and ſenſible of the importance of Ciſalpine Gaul, at the head of three legions and a numerous body of auxiliaries, he rapidly penetrated into that province, and inveſted Decimus Brutus in Mutina.

The retreat of Antony left the ſenate open to the impreſſions of Cicero: In a ſeries of vehement orations, which have obtained the appellation of *Philippics*, he expreſſed the ſentiments of contempt, of hatred, and of reſentment. His ardour was communicated to the aſſembly; and after a feeble and ineffectual negociation, the conſular enſigns were transferred to Hirtius and Panſa, and Antony declared the enemy of the republic. U. C. 710.

The forces of the new conſuls were ſwelled by the acceſſion of the troops which had been levied by the influence and diligence of Octavius; that artful youth had profeſſed his intention of abandoning all hopes of vengeance to eſtabliſh the public tranquillity; in the ſenate had extolled the virtues of Marcus Brutus; in a private letter

had aſſured Decimus Brutus of ſupport; and now prepared with alacrity to march againſt the army of Antony.

Within the walls of Mutina, the followers of Decimus Brutus might have derided the attacks of Antony; but they began already to be ſenſible of the approaches of famine. In a blockade of four months their magazines were nearly exhauſted, when their fainting ſpirits were reſtored by the welcome appearance of the eagles of the republic advancing to their relief.

The ſame day was productive of two actions, ſimilar in circumſtances but different in conſequences: In a ſmall village between Bononia and Mutina the troops of Panſa were ſurpriſed, routed, and purſued to their camp by Antony; the conſul himſelf was mortally wounded, and ſoon after expired. But the exultation of the victor was tranſient; on his return towards Mutina, on the very ſpot where he had ſo lately triumphed, he was attacked and vanquiſhed by Hirtius. In a ſecond attempt to retrieve his fortune he was ſtill more unſucceſsful: After a bloody conflict he was compelled to yield to the ſuperior number of his enemies; his intrenchments were forced; and with his cavalry alone, he urged his precipitate flight towards the Alps. Yet even in defeat he might derive ſome conſolation from revenge; and the death

death of Hirtius, who was killed in the engagement, left the republic without a conſul, and was as favourable to the hopes of Antony as fatal to the freedom of Rome.

While the ſiege of Mutina occupied the attention and forces of the conſuls, the conſpirators had acted with vigour and reſolution. The conduct of Antony had extinguiſhed all hopes of accommodation, and had inſtructed them that their ſafety could be ſecured alone by arms. A decree of the ſenate had reinſtated Brutus and Caſſius in the governments of Macedonia and Syria; and the former had been acknowledged by Quintus Hortenſius, who commanded as pro-conſul in Macedonia; had been joined by the troops of Caius, the brother of Mark Antony, and by the legions from Illyricum; and at the head of a numerous and affectionate army, proclaimed his intention to re-eſtabliſh the ſenate and people in their legal authority.

The activity and ſucceſs of Caſſius had been equally conſpicuous and deciſive. On the firſt intelligence of the deſigns of the conſpirators, Dolabella, with a ſmall army haſtily levied, had rapidly traverſed Theſſaly, paſſed the Helleſpont, and poſſeſſed himſelf by treachery of Smyrna. He had cauſed Trebonius, the governor of that city, to be put to death with cruelty and inſult,

as an aſſociate in the murder of Cæſar: But he himſelf ſoon after ſunk beneath the conduct and renown of Caſſius. The legions of Syria cheerfully embraced the cauſe of a chief whoſe fame had been eſtabliſhed in many a bloody and ſucceſsful conflict with the hoſts of Parthia: Shut up in Laodicea, and deſtitute of reſources, Dolabella deſpaired of that clemency which he had neglected himſelf to practiſe; he fell upon his own ſword: His death united the Eaſt under the authority of Caſſius; the fleets and armies of Egypt were compelled to a reluctant obedience; and with eleven legions he commanded the ſubmiſſion and collected the treaſures of the opulent provinces, from the frontiers of Armenia to the ſhores of the Egean ſea.

In the fidelity of ſuch powerful armies, and in the zeal and conduct of ſuch able commanders, the republican party might well conceive the faireſt hopes of victory. But while they contemplated with tranſport the re-eſtabliſhment of a free and virtuous commonwealth, the proſpect was again obſcured by clouds, and they were once more expoſed to the ſtorms of civil commotion. Patient of fatigue and cold, of hunger and thirſt, Antony had conducted with admirable fortitude his martial followers acroſs the rugged heights of the inhoſpitable Alps: He had been joined in his march

march by Ventidius with three legions; and from his camp, which he had pitched near the modern city of Frejus, he renewed his correſpondence with Marcus Lepidus. The ambiguous reſerve which that general had hitherto maintained was vanquiſhed by the promiſes or ſolicitations of Antony: He conſented to abandon the cauſe of freedom; and his example was ſoon followed by Aſinius Pollio, who with three legions was entruſted with the government of *further* Spain; and by Lucius Plancus, who with five legions occupied the province of *further Gaul*.

The unfortunate Decimus Brutus was the firſt victim to the new confederacy: With an army more remarkable for its numbers than its attachment or its diſcipline, he had ſlowly followed the flying footſteps of Antony; he was deſerted by his ſoldiers, who had conſented with reluctance to march beneath the ſtandard of one of the murderers of Cæſar; he was betrayed in an attempt to eſcape into Macedonia; was inſtantly executed; and his head forwarded as an acceptable preſent to Antony.

The republic yet might have ſtood erect againſt the abilities of Antony, the deſertion of Lepidus, and the revolt of Spain and Gaul; but it was overwhelmed by the treachery of Octavius. The

union of that artful boy with the aſſaſſins of his uncle, though it might impoſe on the credulity of Cicero, had been ever ſuſpected by the conſpirators themſelves: Even in the early moments of diſſimulation, his unguarded expreſſions had awakened their jealouſy; and in an addreſs to the people, as this child of adoption ſtretched out his hand towards the ſtatue of Cæſar, the friends of freedom heard with indignation the ſolemn aſſeveration, "So may I attain to the honours of "my father." After the defeat at Mutina he had refuſed to concur with Decimus Brutus in the purſuit of Antony; the death of both the conſuls had opened a new proſpect to his ambition; and at the age of twenty he aſpired to the honour and authority of the firſt magiſtrate of the republic. His application was enforced by the weighty mediation of the army: "If you will not confer "the conſulate on Octavius, this ſhall," was the expreſſive menace of a centurion to the ſenate, as he pointed to his ſword. That aſſembly heſitated and ſubmitted; their compliance was forgotten, their reluctance remembered; and inveſted with the dignity of conſul, Octavius prepared to perpetuate the power he had extorted, by new connections and more natural alliances.

The reſentments if not the intereſts of Octavius

vius and Antony were the ſame: The arrogance of the latter had been checked by the field of Mutina; and he conſented to ſhare in that dominion which he had aſpired to engroſs. In conjunction with Lepidus, and with five legions, he traverſed again the Alps; and Octavius, with an equal force, advanced towards Mutina to meet him. A ſmall iſland formed by the ſeparation of the river Lavinus, was the ſcene of their guilty conference; and by their mutual diſtruſt they admoniſhed the world to prefer a life of humble virtue to the purſuits of lawleſs ambition. Lepidus firſt paſſed over; and after having with jealous diligence explored each receſs, he gave the ſignal for Octavius and Antony to follow. The memorable interview was prolonged during three ſucceſſive days; and at the expiration of that term, the new triumvirate proclaimed their reſolutions, which extinguiſhed the freedom, and pronounced the deſtruction of the moſt illuſtrious citizens, of the republic.

To diveſt himſelf of every legal advantage over his aſſociates, Octavius conſented to reſign the enſigns of the conſulſhip; and agreed to acknowledge their equal influence in the adminiſtration of the Roman empire. His excluſive authority was to extend over Africa, Sardinia, and Sicily; Antony was to poſſeſs the martial provinces of

Gaul; and the opulent kingdoms of Spain were to be ſubjected to the rule of Lepidus. The latter was to be ſubſtituted, in the place of Decimus Brutus, for the enſuing conſulate; and was to maintain the tranquillity of Rome and Italy, while Octavius and Antony marched to encounter Brutus and Caſſius in the eaſt.

The firſt moments of the triumvirs had been occupied by ambition; the next were ſacred to revenge. The death of Cæſar had been aſcribed to his clemency; and the ſucceſſors to his power hoped to avoid the ſame fate by involving in one promiſcuous maſſacre, all who ſtood expoſed to their reſentment, or were capable of alarming their jealouſy. To the aſſaſſins of the dictator, and to the adherents of Brutus and Caſſius, were added thoſe who were diſtinguiſhed by their birth and merit, by the elegance of their villas, or the extent of their poſſeſſions; and avarice condemned where even ſuſpicion acquitted.

The bloody ſcroll contained the names of three hundred of the ſenatorial, and two thouſand of the equeſtrian, order; and the acquieſcence of the triumvirs was ſecured by mutual ſacrifices. Antony conſented to inſert the name of his uncle Lucius Cæſar; Lepidus gave up his brother Paulus; and the ingratitude of Octavius was revealed in the proſcription of Marcus Tullius Cicero.

The

The terror of the capital was ſoon diffuſed to the Tuſculan villa of Cicero; and the Roman orator was at once informed of his own and of the public danger. He embarked with precipitation, in hopes of eſcaping to Greece; but unaccuſtomed to the motion of the ſea, his indiſpoſition induced him to land near Capua. After a ſhort repoſe, he was urged by the apprehenſions of his attendants to regain the veſſel; but while they proceeded to the ſea coaſt, their pious cares were interrupted by the appearance of a party of ſoldiers. Their approach convinced Cicero that his life and labours drew near their end: He ordered his litter to be ſtopped; and with a firmneſs, not unworthy of the ſpirit which he had diſplayed in the forum and the ſenate, ſubmitted his neck to the ſword of Popilius Lænas, a military tribune, whoſe cauſe he had ſucceſsfully pleaded. His head might be inſulted by the brutal inſolence of Antony; his tongue might be piereed by the frantic rage of Fulvia; but his immortal genius has mocked the feeble malice of his enemies; and the fame of Rome herſelf has acquired an increaſe of luſtre from the eloquence and writings of Cicero.

Chapter

Chapter the Thirty-Eighth.

SEXTUS POMPEY ASSEMBLES A FLEET, AND SEIZES SICILY.—LEPIDUS IS APPOINTED TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF ROME.—OCTAVIUS AND ANTONY CROSS THE SEA, AND LAND WITH THEIR FORCES AT DYRACCHIUM.—CAIUS ANTONIUS, THE BROTHER OF THE TRIUMVIR, IS PUT TO DEATH BY BRUTUS.—BRUTUS AND CASSIUS JOIN THEIR ARMIES AT SMYRNA.—THEY PROSECUTE THE WAR IN ASIA.—CASSIUS DEFEATS THE FLEET OF RHODES, AND REDUCES THAT ISLAND.—BRUTUS PENETRATES INTO LYCIA.—SIEGE OF XANTHUS.—DESPAIR OF THE XANTHIANS.—HUMANITY OF BRUTUS.—BRUTUS AND CASSIUS CROSS THE HELLESPONT.—REVIEW THEIR ARMY.—ADDRESS OF CASSIUS TO THE TROOPS.—AN APPARITION SEEN BY BRUTUS.—THE REPUBLICAN ARMY ENCAMPS NEAR PHILIPPI.—OCTAVIUS AND ANTONY ADVANCE TO THE DEFENCE OF AMPHIPOLIS.—FIRST ACTION.—DEATH OF CASSIUS.—SECOND ACTION.—DEATH OF BRUTUS.

U. C. 710. THE head of Cicero might satiate the vengeance of Antony, but his associates and adherents

adherents ſtill urged the ſlaughter with cruel diligence; the rich and the virtuous were equally obnoxious to Fulvia; and the thirſt of confiſcation ſurvived when enmity was extinguiſhed.

The attention of the triumvirs was at length diverted from the abuſe to the maintenance of their authority. Sextus Pompey, convinced too late of his error in truſting to negociation rather than arms, had fitted out a formidable fleet, and occupied the iſland of Sicily. The populous cities and veteran legions, the princes and provinces of the Eaſt, had embraced the cauſe of the republic; and to avert the invaſion of Italy, Octavius and Antony, after leaving Lepidus to rule or oppreſs the capital, embarked at Brunduſium, eluded the fleets of the enemy, and ſafely landed their forces at Dyrachium. U. C. 711.

To thoſe who could eſcape the immediate fury of the triumvirs, the camps of Brutus and Caſſius afforded ſecurity, and preſented the hopes of revenge. The former governed in peace and with lenity the province of Macedonia; and the death of Caius Antonius, the brother of the triumvir, the only example of ſeverity, might be juſtified by the turbulence of his own diſpoſition, and the proſcription of Cicero. Caſſius had poſſeſſed himſelf of the fleets, the armies, and the

the treaſures of Syria; and meditated the chaſtiſement of Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, who had endeavoured to ſuſtain the cauſe of Dolabella: when he was recalled from the enterprize by the mournful intelligence of the extinction of the republican party in Italy: He inſtantly aſſembled his legions, and directed his march towards Smyrna, to join the army of Brutus.

It was in the depth of winter when the confederate leaders united their forces at Smyrna. Nineteen legions and twenty thouſand horſe, a numerous fleet, a conſiderable treaſure, and a territory the moſt opulent and the moſt fertile in reſources of any part of the Roman empire, might well inſpire with confidence chiefs who lately had left Italy, without money, without arms, and without followers. Some few moments might be allowed to the pious care of deploring their friends, who had periſhed by the tyranny of the triumvirs; nor were the tears which Brutus ſhed for the loſs of Porcia, who had yielded to the preſſure of grief and diſeaſe, unworthy the fortitude of the patriot. But their ſorrows were ſuſpended by the hopes of vengeance and of freedom; and Brutus propoſed to tranſport immediately their armies into Greece, and there attend the hoſtile approaches of Octavius and Antony. The counſel was overruled by Caſſius, who urged the imprudence of

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leaving doubtful friends or open enemies in Asia; and preſſed the reduction of the Rhodians and Lycians, who alone, from the banks of the Euphrates to the ſhores of the Hadriatic, preſumed to reſiſt their authority, and had aſſerted a dangerous and ambiguous neutrality.

The chaſtiſement of the Rhodians was entruſted to the ſkill and conduct of Caſſius, who aſſembled his ſquadrons at Lindus, a maritime city of Aſia; and at the head of a numerous fleet, advanced to Cnidos, a ſtation celebrated for the defeat of Mithridates. Confident in the number of their ſhips and the experience of their mariners, the youth of Rhodes had rejected the language of ſubmiſſion, which had been recommended by the prudence and experience of their magiſtrates: They beheld with exultation the hoſtile ſails of Caſſius; and ruſhed impetuouſly to combat on an element which had been the frequent theatre of their triumphs. But in a long and bloody conflict their hopes were confounded and their pride humbled; five of their veſſels were taken or deſtroyed; and the ſhattered remnant of their fleet eſcaped with difficulty into their harbour. With eighty ſhips of war, the victor immediately inveſted the aſtoniſhed city: After a ſhort reſiſtance, the Rhodians ſurrendered at diſcretion; and their lives were ranſomed at the expence of that wealth

wealth which they had accumulated in ſucceſſive years of commerce and nautical adventure.

A ſeverer fate awaited the obſtinacy of the Lycians. With a formidable body of cavalry Brutus had penetrated through the paſſes of the mountains, and extended his ravages over the open country of Lycia: On the banks of a river known by the ſame name, the city of Xanthus, proud of the height and extent of its walls, more proud of the renown and valour of its citizens, preſumed to reſiſt the victorious legions of Rome. In a variety of daring ſallies the courage of the beſieged was diſplayed, but their ſtrength was diminiſhed: Every obſtacle was vanquiſhed by the ardour and perſeverance of Brutus; the ditch was filled up, the walls were broken down, and the tide of aſſailants poured in through the breach: Yet deſpair ſupplied with the Lycians the place of hope. To diſappoint the avarice of the victors, they ſet fire to their houſes; and rejecting the proffered mercy of Brutus, indignantly caſt themſelves into the flames. From the fatal effects of their own fury one hundred and fifty were preſerved by the conqueror, and reluctantly conſented to live: They were diſmiſſed with gifts and freedom by Brutus, whoſe gentle mind was oppreſſed by the mournful ſpectacle, and who deplored with tears the ſucceſs of his arms.

From

From the chaſtiſement of Rhodes and the deſtruction of Xanthus, Brutus and Caſſius with their united armies croſſed the Helleſpont, marched by the iſthmus of Cardia, and near Melanus halted to repoſe and review their forces. Eighty thouſand infantry and twenty thouſand cavalry, were aſſembled in defence of the republic; but many of the legionaries had fought under the banners and were attached to the memory of Cæſar; their reluctance had only yielded to the moſt liberal donatives; and the wealth of Aſia had been laviſhed to ſecure their fidelity: To juſtify their own deſigns, and to confirm the wavering inclinations of their followers, the leaders embraced the opportunity of the military oration which ancient diſcipline required; and the taſk of vindicating their intentions by arguments was aſſigned to the years and eloquence of Caſſius.

"While Cæſar," ſaid he, "led the armies of "the republic againſt the enemies of Rome, we "obeyed him with alacrity, and were happy to "ſerve under his command; but when he de-"clared war on the commonwealth, we renounced "his friendſhip; and when he became an uſurper "and a tyrant, we reſented as an injury even the "favours which he preſumed to beſtow upon us. "Private reſentment could not have raiſed our "ſwords againſt him; he was willing to have in-

"dulged

" dulged us with preferments and honours; but " we ſcorned to receive from an individual thoſe " favours which with juſtice could alone be con- " ferred by the Roman ſenate and the Roman " people.

" It is as that people we now addreſs you; as " men and fellow-citizens, who are not accuſtomed " to own a ſuperior, but who are yourſelves the " maſters, the diſpenſers of fortune and of dig- " nity. Thoſe rights the deſtruction of Cæſar has " reſtored to you; and you once more enjoy the " happineſs of an equal condition, the ſacred pro- " tection of your tribunes, and the diſpoſal of " thoſe offices which were eſtabliſhed for your " ſafety, and for the preſervation of your free- " dom.

" An uſurper is the common enemy of all good " citizens; but the deſtruction of him can only " be atchieved by a few. The ſenate and the " people, whilſt free to declare their ſentiments, " pronounced their approbation of thoſe who were " concerned in the death of Cæſar, by the re- " wards and honours which they beſtowed upon " them: Yet the fury of murderers and aſſaſſins " has been let looſe againſt all who either exe- " cuted or countenanced the glorious act; and " the ſtreets of Rome have been deluged by the " blood of her moſt illuſtrious citizens. The

" remnant

"remnant who have eſcaped, repoſe their hopes "on you. It is from your zeal, from your va- "lour, that they expect to be reſtored to their "families and their houſehold gods, and to ſhare "with you in the glory and advantages of a free "and virtuous commonwealth."

The gratification of fifteen hundred ſeſterces, or twelve pounds ſterling, to each ſoldier, enſured the acclamations of the army to the oration of Caſſius; and the republican chiefs, to prevent the deſigns of their enemies, preſſed forward to regain poſſeſſion of the important province of Macedonia. Whilſt the days of Brutus were devoted to martial toils, and his nights to contemplation, it is not ſurpriſing that his anxious mind, in the moments of doubtful ſlumber, ſhould preſent to him the appearance of a ſpectre of gigantic ſtature and menacing aſpect. "Who art thou?" exclaimed the aſtoniſhed but undaunted Roman. "I am thy "evil genius, and will meet thee again at Phi- "lippi." Brutus ſtarted from his couch; the apparition vaniſhed; and the improbable narrative, which has been preſerved by Plutarch, by Florus, and by Appian, without commanding our belief, eludes our enquiry.

The voice of reaſon was more powerful than that of ſuperſtition; and the confederate leaders, having traverſed by an unfrequented route the

mountains which divide Thrace from Macedonia, pitched their camps on two ſeparate eminences in the ſight of Philippi. On their right was that city, covered by a ridge of lofty and broken hills; on their left, a moraſs, which extended to the ſea; and in their front they beheld the flat and marſhy country which for fifty miles ſtretched away towards Amphipolis.

To the defence of Amphipolis, Octavius and Antony had advanced by rapid marches from Dyracchium; and with one hundred thouſand foot and thirteen thouſand horſe, intrenched themſelves in view of the army of the republic. But they were ſoon ſenſible of the diſadvantages of their ſituation; a peſtilential diſorder, the effect of the ſtagnate waters which ſurrounded them, diminiſhed the number, while the ſcarcity of proviſions impaired the ſtrength, of their ſoldiers. A ſcanty and precarious ſubſiſtence was with difficulty extorted from the exhauſted countries of Thrace and Macedonia; the fleets of their adverſaries intercepted all ſupplies from Africa and Italy; and only the expectation of immediate action could ſupport the drooping ſpirits of their followers againſt the terrors of impending famine.

The republican leaders beheld and exulted in their diſtreſs; the plenty of their own camp was ſecured by the abundance of their magazines, and

their

their communication with, and empire of, the ſea; and ſafe in their fortifications and the natural ſtrength of their poſt, they determined to await till diſeaſe and hunger had waſted the forces of their enemies, and offered them an eaſy prey to their freſh and vigorous legions.

But this prudent plan of victory was diſconcerted by the ardour of their ſoldiers. To provoke their antagoniſts to action, the triumvirs had repeatedly drawn up their army in order of battle in the front of their camp: The troops of Brutus and Caſſius had borne the inſult with indignation; and their impatience had been with difficulty reſtrained by the authority of their generals: It at length ſurmounted every reſtraint; the ſoldiers of Brutus quitted their lines, and ruſhed to encounter thoſe of Octavius, whom ſuperſtition or illneſs had withdrawn that day from his camp. Their fury was irreſiſtible; and negligent of order, and deaf to remonſtrance, they urged the tumultuous purſuit to the very tents of their enemies.

Whilſt the republicans on the right indulged their inconſiderate ardour, on the left they were doomed to experience the reverſe of fortune: The lines of Caſſius had been ſuddenly attacked and forced by Antony; and Caſſius himſelf eſcaped with difficulty from the ſwords of his purſuers.

With the companions of his flight he had halted on a neighbouring eminence; and had diſpatched a truſty meſſenger to explore, and inform him of the ſituation of his colleague. In the confuſion of defeat, and the duſk of approaching night, he miſtook a body of horſe which was advancing from Brutus to congratulate him, for a party of the enemy; and diſdaining to witneſs the triumph of his adverſaries, he with fatal precipitation threw himſelf on his own ſword.

Both Brutus and Antony had been appriſed of the rout of the forces of their colleagues; the ardour of their followers had been exhauſted by fatigue, or was checked by the clouds of darkneſs; their prudence declined a nocturnal combat; they repaſſed each other on the plain, and haſtened to regain their former ſtations.

On his return to his camp, Brutus was firſt acquainted with the death of Caſſius. His manly grief bewailed the friend and the patriot; but his ſorrows were ſilenced by the imperious voice of war: He collected into one camp the whole forces of the republic, and awaited with impatience the moment which was to involve his own fate with that of Rome.

It was probably at this conjuncture that he addreſſed his celebrated letter to Atticus, who had declined the paths of greatneſs, and whoſe amiable qualities

qualities had rendered him equally acceptable to Brutus and Cicero, to Antony and Octavius. "My "object," ſaid he, "is ſecure; for either I ſhall "by my victory, reſcue the Romans from the "ſervitude into which they are fallen, or periſh "in the attempt; and by dying myſelf, eſcape "from ſlavery. I have performed my part, and "wait for the iſſue in which public freedom or "death is to follow: As for Antony, who has "choſen to become the retainer of Octavius, ra-"ther than a partner with us in an equal com-"monwealth, he has a different alternative; either "now to periſh with that young man, or being "the dupe of his artifices, to become hereafter "the ſubject of his government."

Yet although Brutus was determined not to ſurvive the loſs of freedom, he neglected not the means to preſerve it. The ſovereignty of the ſea was aſſerted by his admirals, Mucius and Ahenobarbus, who intercepted a fleet belonging to the triumvirs with two legions, and ſunk or deſtroyed the greateſt part. The diſtreſs of Octavius and Antony hourly increaſed; and the fortunes of the republic might again have been eſtabliſhed, could her ſoldiers have been content to await from famine, that victory which they aſpired to command by the ſword.

The ardour of his followers vanquiſhed the perſeverance of Brutus; he himſelf ſickened at the miſeries of civil war, and was probably deſirous of terminating the calamities of his country in a deciſive engagement. The night before the battle, he is reported to have ſeen again the ſame ſpectre which had appeared to him on his march towards Philippi: But the vigorous mind of Brutus was ſuperior to the impreſſions of ſuperſtition; the ſignal for action was diſplayed; and in a ſhort addreſs to his ſoldiers, he exhorted them to fulfil his and their own expectations.

The trumpets of Brutus were anſwered by thoſe of Octavius and Antony; and both armies ruſhed with equal fury to a cloſe encounter: The conflict was obſtinate and bloody; no ſtratagem was practiſed on either ſide, and the fate of the day was decided by the blind impetuoſity of the combatants. The legions of Brutus at length yielded to the ſuperior numbers or ſuperior courage of their adverſaries; a gradual retreat was converted into a haſty flight; and the rampart of their camp afforded but a feeble and momentary ſecurity from the rage of the victors.

From the diſaſtrous field, Brutus with a few faithful companions had eſcaped to an eminence

in

in the rear of the camp. In the battle he had diſcharged the duties of a general and a ſoldier, and his independent mind was fortified againſt the event by the contempt of fortune and of life. But he could not be indifferent to the fate of the republic. The unworthy expreſſion, "O fortune, "I thought thee a ſubſtance, but have found thee "an empty name," is impeached by the ſilence of Volumnius, who was himſelf a ſpectator of the mournful cataſtrophe. With greater juſtice he might invoke the vengeance of Jupiter on the author of his country's miſery; and while he deplored the ſubjection of Rome, he revolved with compoſure his own end. The trampling of horſes betrayed, through the darkneſs of the night, the approach of the enemy. "We muſt fly!" exclaimed Volumnius. "We muſt fly indeed," replied Brutus, "but with our hands, and not "our feet." He diſdained the aſſiſtance of a ſervile arm, and ſubmitted his fearleſs boſom to the ſword of his friend Strato. The magnanimity of Antony honoured his remains with a ſplendid funeral; but the beſt eulogium of his virtues was the jealouſy of ſucceeding tyrants: Amidſt their venal guards the imperial uſurpers trembled at his name; the proſcription of his memory proclaimed their abject fears; but the gratitude of Rome burſt through the feeble reſtraint; and whilſt

in Brutus his country lamented *the laſt of the Romans*, ſhe indignantly reproached the degenerate race, who preſumed to aſſume the diſtinction, without aſpiring to emulate the actions of their anceſtors.

Chapter the Thirty-Ninth.

SEXTUS POMPEY DEFENDS SICILY. — THE TRIUMVIRS MAKE A NEW DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE. — ANTONY'S PROGRESS THROUGH THE EAST. — HIS INTERVIEW WITH CLEOPATRA. — HE FOLLOWS HER TO ALEXANDRIA. — ADMINISTRATION OF OCTAVIUS IN ITALY. — HE IS OPPOSED BY FULVIA AND LUCIUS ANTONY. — COMPELS LUCIUS ANTONY TO SURRENDER IN PERUGIA. — FULVIA QUITS ITALY. — HER INTERVIEW WITH ANTONY, WHO LANDS IN ITALY AND BESIEGES BRUNDUSIUM. — ENTERS INTO ALLIANCE WITH POMPEY. — ACCOMMODATION BETWEEN THE TRIUMVIRS. — MARRIAGE OF ANTONY WITH OCTAVIA. — TREATY WITH POMPEY. — EXPLOITS OF VENTIDIUS IN THE EAST. — RUPTURE BETWEEN OCTAVIUS AND POMPEY. — FIRST OPERATIONS OF OCTAVIUS UNSUCCESSFUL. — HE LANDS IN SICILY. — POMPEY IS DEFEATED IN A NAVAL ENGAGEMENT, AND FLIES TO ASIA. — FATE OF LEPIDUS. — EXPEDITION OF ANTONY AGAINST THE PARTHIANS. — BESIEGES PRAASPA. — IS COMPELLED TO RAISE THE SIEGE. — EFFECTS HIS RETREAT WITH DIFFICULTY. — CONDUCT OF POMPEY IN ASIA. — HIS DEATH AND CHARACTER.

THE

U. C. 711. THE fleets of Sextus Pompey ſtill protected the fertile iſland of Sicily, aſſerted the ſovereignty of the ſea, and intercepted the ſubſiſtence of Rome. But the moſt illuſtrious of the republicans had periſhed on the fields of Pharſalia, Thapſus, and Philippi, or had fallen victims to the rage of proſcription. The victors proceeded immediately to a new partition of the empire: The feeble Lepidus was permitted to adminiſter part of the province of Africa; while the authority of Octavius was extended over Spain and Numidia; and that of Antony acknowledged through Tranſalpine Gaul and the reſt of Africa.

But the moſt important object of the triumvirs was to reward the companions of their late victory. The veterans had been allured by the promiſe of extraordinary donatives and ample ſettlements, to join in oppreſſing the freedom of the republic: To Octavius was aſſigned the invidious care of diſpoſſeſſing the ancient inhabitants of the moſt fertile diſtricts of Italy; and Antony, with ſix legions, accepted the office of extorting the treaſures of the opulent provinces of the Eaſt.

It was in proſecution of this commiſſion that Antony, after a ſhort repoſe at Athens, proceeded to

to Aſia. At Epheſus he gave audience to the deputies of the ſtates which owned the authority or influence of Rome: He reproached them with the aſſiſtance which they had afforded to Brutus and Caſſius; and he announced the terms of their pardon in the immediate payment of ten years tribute. The bold reply of Hybreas, "Since "you multiply our taxes, you ſhould multiply "our harveſts alſo," might excite the ſmile, but could not change the purpoſe of Antony; the temples were ſtripped of their moſt valuable ornaments, the ſtatues of the gods were melted down, and coined into money; and the majeſty of Jupiter, and the ſanctity of Apollo, were profaned by the rapacious hand of the ſacrilegious ſoldier.

In Cilicia, on the banks of the Cydnus, Antony firſt beheld Cleopatra. The queen of Egypt had profeſſedly undertaken the journey, to juſtify her conduct during the late hoſtilities; but it is probable that ſhe in ſecret cheriſhed a different deſign: She had already ſacrificed to her ambition the laſt of the Ptolomies, who, under the double title of huſband and brother, divided with her the throne. The power of the triumvir could alone fix the ſceptre in her hand, and ſilence the murmurs of her indignant ſubjects. She doubted not but the ſame charms which had ſubdued the heart of Cæſar would captivate that of Antony.

As

As ſhe deſcended in more than Eaſtern magnificence the Cydnus, the aſtoniſhed crowd gazed in admiration on her purple ſails and ſilver oars, which dipped reſponſive to the ſound of the flute. But the eyes of Antony, unmindful of the pomp, were fixed on Cleopatra alone: He acknowledged himſelf the ſlave of her beauty; followed her to Alexandria; and while half the ſubject world awaited their fate from his deciſion, rioted in her embraces, and reſigned himſelf to the arts and pleaſures of luxury and love.

Whilſt Antony waſted or improved the hours in the arms of Cleopatra, Octavius was expoſed to the inſolence of the victorious legions: Their impatient clamours demanded the immediate poſſeſſion of the ſettlements that had been promiſed them; Nonius, a military tribune, who attempted to ſoothe their rage, fell a victim to it; his body was inſultingly thrown in the way of Octavius as he haſtened to the field of Mars; without appearing to obſerve it, much leſs to puniſh the crime, Octavius paſſed with affected negligence the mangled corpſe; aſcended his tribunal, and aſſuaged the tumult by a diſtribution of new donatives, and an aſſurance of the ſpeedy performance of all former engagements.

The fate of Nonius quickened the diligence of Octavius. The cities of Italy which had diſtinguiſhed

guiſhed their zeal for the republican party, were ſacrificed to the avarice of the ſoldiers. Cremona had merited the hatred of the triumvirs by its faithful attachment to the name and memory of Brutus; and its puniſhment was extended to the neighbouring city of Mantua. Among the wretched inhabitants of Mantua who were diſpoſſeſſed of their farms and patrimonies, the genius of Virgil permits him not to be confounded with the nameleſs crowd; the ſpirit of the bard probably revolted againſt the inſolence of military oppreſſion, and he eſcaped with difficulty from the ſword of a brutal centurion by committing himſelf to the winding ſtream of the Mincius. The complaints of the poet touched the ear that was deaf to the groans of a people; and the reſtitution of his farm was repaid by the grateful incenſe of his muſe.

A cry of indignation was heard throughout Italy; but Octavius might have deſpiſed the impotent murmurs of the provincials, had they not been ſupported by the more formidable intrigues of his own colleagues. The flames of civil commotion were kindled by Fulvia, a woman of flagitious manners and maſculine ſpirit; they were fanned by the breath of Lucius Antony, who had eluded the danger of proſcription, had been pardoned after the defeat of Philippi, and now ſhared with Octavius the dignity of conſul: U. C. 712.

Theſe

Theſe loudly arraigned the partiality of Octavius, who, in the diviſion of lands, had provided largely for his own veterans, but inſidiouſly neglected the followers of Mark Antony; their remonſtrances were enforced by the legions under Pollio, Plancus, and Ventidius. To cruſh the growing evil, Octavius acted with vigour and celerity; after an ineffectual negociation, before the ſcattered forces of his enemies could be united, with a numerous army he inveſted Lucius in Perugia; the walls of that fortreſs were attacked with ardour and defended with gallantry; but the garriſon yielded to the preſſure of famine; Lucius conſented to implore the mercy of Octavius; he was diſmiſſed to Spain, with the honourable but empty title of pro-conſul; his ſubmiſſion influenced the conduct of the other leaders, who returned to their former inactivity; while the reſtleſs Fulvia, impatient of defeat, and eager for revenge, embarked for Greece, to ſolicit new commotions.

U. C. 713. Amidſt the careſſes of Cleopatra, Antony had not been inſenſible to the voice of honour. The province of Syria had been ravaged by the ſquadrons of Parthia; and to vindicate the dignity of Rome, Antony prepared with a formidable army to paſs the Euphrates. He was diverted from this deſign by intelligence of the diſturbances in Italy; with two hundred gallies

lies he ſailed from Alexandria, and was received at Athens by Fulvia. Their ſhort interview was productive only of mutual reproaches; he arraigned her turbulence, and ſhe accuſed his infidelity. Leaving her to the torment of her own reflections, Antony haſtily embarked again for Italy, landed his forces in the neighbourhood of Brunduſium, and laid ſiege to that city, whoſe inhabitants acknowledged the particular influence of Octavius, and had refuſed to admit him within their gates.

At Athens, Antony had liſtened to an ambaſſador from Sextus Pompey, who with a numerous fleet ſtill retained the iſlands of Sardinia and Sicily; and who, arouzed from his inactivity by the diſſenſion of the triumvirs, prepared to aſſert his own importance: His proffered alliance was readily embraced by Antony, who propoſed to him to block up the harbour of Brunduſium by ſea, whilſt he aſſaulted the walls by land.

To the defence of Brunduſium, the army of Octavius had marched with diligence and alacrity; but however deſirous the leaders might be to terminate their differences in a field of battle, their followers beheld the approaching conteſt with open diſguſt. The death of Fulvia, whoſe haughty ſpirit could neither brook the triumph of Octavius nor the indifference of Antony, reſtored the hopes of accommodation; the latter conſented to receive the hand

hand of Octavia, the ſiſter of the former. A new partition of the empire was propoſed and executed; Lepidus was confirmed in the poſſeſſion of Africa; and from the city of Codropolis, in Illyricum, the authority of Antony was extended over the Eaſt; and to the Weſt, the independent power of Octavius was acknowledged.

U. C. 714. In the new arrangement the intereſts of Pompey had been deſerted by the perfidy of Antony; but the triumvirs were awakened by the clamours of the capital to the pretenſions of that chief. From the ports of Sicily and Sardinia his numerous cruiſers intercepted the ſubſiſtence of Rome; and an hungry and impatient multitude reproached the timidity or ſupineneſs of their rulers. To the uncertain chance of war was preferred the more ſecure reſource of negociation; and, on condition that he ſhould not violate the ſafety of the ſeas, Sicily and Sardinia were ſolemnly renounced to Pompey: He was promoted to the ſacred dignity of augur; was permitted, though abſent, to ſue for the conſulſhip, and to diſcharge the duties of the office by any of his friends; was reimburſed for his father's property which had been confiſcated; and obtained a general pardon for the remnant of the republicans who had ſurvived the fields of Pharſalia, of Thapſus, and Philippi.

From

From Rome, Antony haſtened to A- U. C. 715.
thens with Octavia. In the Eaſt, his forces under Ventidius had ſurprized the Parthian camp, and had avenged the fate of Craſſus by the death of Pacorus, the eldeſt ſon of the Parthian monarch. The martial ambition of Antony was rekindled by the exploits of his lieutenants; he aſſumed the command of his army, and preſſed the ſiege of Samoſatis, the capital of Antiochus, king of Commagena: But his patience was exhauſted in the tedious enterpriſe; he liſtened to the propoſals of Antiochus; conſented to a peace for the ſum of three hundred talents; and from the inglorious expedition, returned to Athens to wanton in the embraces of his new conſort.

The errors of Antony adorned the reputation of Octavius; His fleets and armies were conducted to victory by the ſkill and courage of Agrippa; his councils were directed by the prudence and wiſdom of Mæcenas; he already repined at the advantages which had been allowed to Pompey, and aſpired to wreſt from him the ſovereignty of the deep.

The moſt ſolemn treaties are but U. C. 716.
weak barriers to the ambitious; Pompey was accuſed by Octavius of having renewed his naval depredations; yet in his firſt attempt the triumvir had little reaſon to exult in his

perfidy; from the coaſt of Meſſina he was repelled and purſued by the victorious fleet of Sextus: To reſtore his navy, the woods of Avernus were devoted to the axe; and Agrippa was ſummoned from reſtraining the levity of the Gauls, to contend for the empire of the ſea.

U. C. 717. The preparations of Octavius had awakened the jealouſy of Antony; but in a ſecond interview their friendſhip was reſtored by the mediation of Octavia. Antony already revolved the invaſion of Parthia, and indulged the hopes of erecting his trophies on the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris: He conſented to exchange one hundred and twenty ſhips of war for twenty thouſand legionaries; and to cement their future amity, a new alliance was projected between Antyllus, the eldeſt ſon of Antony, and Julia, the daughter of Octavius.

Three powerful fleets menaced the conqueſt of Sicily and the deſtruction of Pompey. From Tarentum, Statilius Taurus commanded the ſhips which had been received from Antony; from Utica, Lepidus was to ſail with a formidable ſquadron, and twelve legions; and from the Julian port, the numerous veſſels which had been conſtructed by the diligence of Agrippa, were to iſſue under the conduct of Octavius himſelf. But the fleets of Octavius and Taurus were encountered

tered and diſperſed by the fury of a tempeſt, and Lepidus alone ſafely gained and diſembarked his forces on the Sicilian coaſt.

The pride of Pompey was elated by the diſaſters of Octavius; clothed in green he ſacrificed to Neptune, and aſſumed the title of Son to the God of the Ocean; but diſgrace and defeat followed cloſe on his impious preſumption. Labienus ſtill occupied an important ſtation near Lylibæum; on the northern ſide of the iſland Agrippa had effected his landing without loſs; and Octavius having repaired his fleet, again alarmed the coaſt by his preſence; aſſumed the command of his forces on the iſland; and at the head of twenty-one legions, advanced to join the army of Lepidus.

Incapable of reſiſting his enemies at land, Pompey prepared to encounter them at ſea; that element had hitherto been propitious to himſelf and his family; and he truſted to his former fortune, to the ſkill of his officers, and to three hundred veſſels manned by experienced mariners. The fleet of Octavius was commanded by Agrippa, and was nearly equal in number; between the promontories of Mylæ and Pelorus, the ocean was purpled with the blood of the kindred combatants: The ſhips of Pompey were at length diſconcerted by the manœuvres, or oppreſſed by the valour of

their enemies; and ſo general was the deſtruction, that ſeventeen alone eſcaped from the action and purſuit. Theſe ſteered to Meſſina, and received on board their chief, who from a neighbouring mountain had beheld the diſaſtrous combat, which for ever overwhelmed his hopes. He embarked his treaſures with precipitation; and deſpairing to retrieve his fortune, directed his courſe towards the ſhores of Aſia, to implore the protection of Antony.

Eight legions ſtill defended the walls of Meſſina; they yielded to the promiſes rather than the arms of Lepidus, and were perſuaded to ſwell the number of his forces. The pride of that chief was inflamed by the review of twenty-two legions; he not only kept poſſeſſion of Meſſina, but avowed his pretenſions to all Sicily: It was in vain Octavius repreſented that he had acted in the war as an ally, and not as a principal; Lepidus recapitulated his injuries in the late partition of the empire, and offered to evacuate Africa and Sicily, provided he was reinſtated in the government of the warlike province of Spain.

It was preſumed the pretenſions of the triumvirs could only be determined by open war. But the officers and ſoldiers derided the authority of the feeble Lepidus; they reſpected the prudence of Octavius, and revered the name of Cæſar.

The

The emiſſaries of that artful youth had ſucceſsfully ſcattered the ſeeds of diſcontent through the camp of his rival; the legions which had lately quitted the ſervice of Pompey, marched out of the lines with their arms and enſigns; the infantry and cavalry which had been tranſported from Africa, followed their example; and after a faint attempt to awe the riſing ſedition, Lepidus himſelf, deſerted by his troops and attendants, relinquiſhed the imperial robe for the habit of a private man, and entered as a ſuppliant the tent of Octavius. The multitude beheld with aſtoniſhment, the man who a few moments before had ſhared in the adminiſtration of the Roman empire, proſtrate himſelf at the feet of his ſucceſsful colleague: But their compaſſion was checked by contempt; the life of Lepidus was ſecured by the weakneſs of his character; and the arrogance of Octavius preſumed to diſmiſs to a private ſtation, a rival whoſe abilities he deſpiſed too much to dread.

While Octavius from the Weſt extended his dominion over Sicily and Africa, Antony in the Eaſt was expoſed to the toils and dangers of a Parthian war. He had quitted with alacrity the modeſt beauties of Octavia; but it was with reluctance he diſengaged himſelf from the ſenſual embraces of the amorous Cleopatra. The queen

of Egypt had advanced to meet her lover in Syria; and her diligent affection was rewarded, not by the gifts of gold or precious ſtones, but by the laviſh and inſulting preſent of all Phœnicia, Cyprus, and part of Cilicia. His frantic liberality was reproached by the murmurs of his ſoldiers; their clamours aroused the chief from the couch of love and luxury; and at the head of ſixty thouſand legionaries, thirty thouſand auxiliaries, and ten thouſand cavalry, he traverſed the hilly region of the leſſer Armenia, paſſed the Euphrates, and inveſted Praaſpa, the capital of Atropatenian Media.

The royal city of Ecbatana, with the greateſt part of Media, acknowledged the authority of the king of Parthia; the remnant of the province was ſubjected to the independent ſway of a deſcendant of Atropatros, who had ſucceſsfully reſiſted the arms of Alexander, and who had eſtabliſhed the ſeat of his government at Praaſpa. The natural and faithful confederate of Parthia, his avarice or ambition had invaded the territories of the king of Armenia; and it was to avenge the injuries which had been offered to the ally of Rome, that Antony had paſſed the Euphrates, and diſplayed his eagles to the martial inhabitants of Media.

The ſiege of Praaſpa was ſcarce commenced before Antony repented of the adventurous enterprize.

terprise. The rapid ſquadrons of Parthia and Media ruſhed to overwhelm the daring invader: He was deſerted by the fears or levity of the Armenian monarch; his engines were deſtroyed; and two legions, which he had left to guard them, were cut to pieces. A fruitleſs diſplay of valour, and a victory more fatal to his own troops than to thoſe of his enemies, diminiſhed not his diſtreſs; he accepted the inſolent counſel of the Parthian king, and retired with diſgrace from the inauſpicious walls of Praaſpa.

The difficulties of retreat were ſcarce leſs numerous than the obſtacles to conqueſt: In a march of three hundred miles, the compact order of the legions was continually broken by the inequalities of a mountainous country: In eighteen attacks they bore with patient courage the barbed arrows and miſſile weapons of the Parthians; and to the dangers of combat were added the extremities of hunger and thirſt. The character of Antony was marked by the ſingular contraſt of hardineſs and effeminacy; he ſhared without repining the coarſe and frugal diet of the camp; and the murmurs of the ſoldiers were ſilenced, and their courage confirmed, by the example of their general.

On the frontiers of Syria, Antony reviewed his way-worn followers: Near one third had periſhed by fatigue, by famine, or U. C. 718.

the arrows of the Parthians. It was here alſo he was informed of the defeat of Pompey, and the depoſition of Lepidus. The former, with ſeventeen veſſels, had arrived on the coaſt of Aſia; he had liſtened with fond credulity to a report that Antony had periſhed in Media, and had aſpired to the ſovereignty of the Eaſt. The return of the triumvir diſpelled the pleaſing illuſion; and he endeavoured to intereſt in his defence the policy of the chief, whoſe authority he had attempted to uſurp. "Octavius," ſaid he, "will ſoon have the ſame quarrel with you "that he has lately had with me, and afterwards "with Lepidus. He conſiders the empire as his "property, and cannot endure a partner. His "open force is not ſo dangerous as the inſidious "profeſſions, and the artful diſguiſes with which "he hides his deſigns. I make you an offer of "a friendſhip that is ſincere, and of a faith that "is yet unbroken. I made you the ſame offer, "while I was maſter of Sicily and Sardinia, and "in the height of my fortune. By accepting it "you will ſave the remains of a family yet re-"ſpected by the Roman people; and by joining "with me, you will gain the acceſſion of a party, "whom even adverſity has not prevailed on to "abandon their leader."

To add weight to his ſolicitations, Pompey had employed the treaſures which he had brought from

from Sicily in raiſing new forces, and purchaſing new allies. His preparations alarmed the jealouſy of the governors of the Aſiatic provinces; and in an attempt to penetrate through Bithynia, he was encompaſſed by the troops of Antony. Deſerted by his ſoldiers and his attendants, he was, after a feeble reſiſtance, compelled to ſurrender; and was immediately put to death by Titius, who endeavoured to juſtify the haſty execution by the orders of Antony.

Thus miſerably periſhed in the fortieth year of his age, Sextus Pompey, the laſt deſcendant of a man who had attained the enviable appellation of *Great*. He was neither formed by nature nor education to emulate the renown of his illuſtrious father: Rude in ſpeech and behaviour, he was governed in peace by his ſlaves and freedmen; and in war, his predatory incurſions reſembled rather thoſe of a robber or a pirate than of a leader who aſpired to ſhare in the adminiſtration of the Roman world. But his name was ſtill dear to the Roman people; in his death they lamented the extinction of a family who had adorned the republic with repeated triumphs; and when Titius preſumed in the theatre of Pompey to celebrate by public games his own proſperity, he was driven from the circus by the reproaches and execrations of the indignant multitude.

Chapter

Chapter the Fortieth.

ATTACHMENT OF ANTONY TO CLEOPATRA.—HIS INVASION OF ARMENIA.—SEIZES THE PERSON OF THE ARMENIAN KING.—CONQUERS ARMENIA.—TRIUMPHAL ENTRY INTO ALEXANDRIA.—BESTOWS SEVERAL OF THE EASTERN PROVINCES ON HIS SONS BY CLEOPATRA.—CONDUCT OF OCTAVIUS.—WARS WITH THE DALMATIANS AND PANNONIANS.—ADORNS ROME.—MAGNIFICENCE OF AGRIPPA.—ANTONY FORBIDS OCTAVIA FROM VISITING THE EAST.—RUPTURE BETWEEN HIM AND OCTAVIUS.—THEY MUTUALLY PROMISE TO RESTORE THE REPUBLIC.—OCTAVIUS PASSES INTO GREECE.—PREPARATIONS OF ANTONY.—HIS EXTRAVAGANCE.—BATTLE OF ACTIUM.—FLIGHT OF CLEOPATRA.—IS FOLLOWED BY ANTONY.—FLEET OF ANTONY DESTROYED.—HIS ARMY SURRENDERS.—HE RETIRES TO ALEXANDRIA—RESUMES HIS FORMER LIFE OF LUXURY.—OCTAVIUS PENETRATES INTO EGYPT.—ADVANCES TOWARDS ALEXANDRIA.—ACTION BEFORE THAT CITY.—ANTONY IS DESERTED BY ALL HIS FORCES.—HIS DEATH.—OCTAVIUS ENTERS ALEXANDRIA.—DEATH OF CLEOPATRA.

BY

BY the degradation of Lepidus and the ſubſequent death of Pompey, the Roman world was divided between Octavius and Antony; the former of whom was maſter of the Weſt, and the latter of the Eaſt; and it might have been expected, that theſe powerful chiefs, connected by private as well as public alliance, would have abandoned, or ſuſpended at leaſt, all further deſigns of ambition, and allowed mankind to breathe from the horrors and deſtructive ravages of civil commotion: Yet the ſubjects of Rome were permitted to indulge but a ſhort time the flattering idea; and the very event on which they had founded their hopes of tranquillity became the immediate cauſe of open hoſtilities. U. C. 719, 720.

The marriage of Octavia had been dictated by policy; but the heart of Antony was the willing ſlave of the charms of Cleopatra: No ſooner did he return to Alexandria, than he reſigned himſelf to the embraces of the Egyptian queen. The diſcord of the Median and Parthian monarchs interrupted for a moment their licentious pleaſures. Impatient to efface the diſgrace of his late enterpriſe, Antony accepted with alacrity the profered alliance of the former; advanced with a ſtrong

ſtrong army to the frontiers of Armenia; and condeſcended to practiſe on Artavaſdes thoſe arts which had been ſucceſsfully exerciſed againſt himſelf. The Armenian prince was invited to a conference by the Roman general; was ſeized, and loaded with chains. His ſubjects reſiſted the commands of a captive monarch, and raiſed to the throne in his place his ſon Artaxias; but the tender years of Artaxias were unequal to the taſk of governing a kingdom attacked by foreign enemies, and diſtracted by domeſtic faction; and after a feeble reſiſtance, Armenia ſubmitted to the arms of Antony.

A conqueſt which had been atchieved by treachery was celebrated with magnificence. The perſon of the Armenian king was expoſed to the inſults of the effeminate Egyptians; but Artavaſdes, mindful of the regal dignity, ſcorned to proſtrate himſelf before the throne of Cleopatra. The pride of that imperious woman was exaſperated by his refuſal; he was led to priſon; and his ſubſequent death was regarded as the conſequence of his firmneſs.

The honours of the triumph had been conſidered as the excluſive right of Rome; and the miſtreſs of the Roman world beheld with jealouſy the ſacred ceremony proſtituted to the wiſhes of the luxurious inhabitants of Alexandria. On the

the ſame day that the ſplendid proceſſion moved ſlowly through the ſtreets of the capital of Egypt, Antony, ſeated on a throne of gold by the ſide of Cleopatra, proclaimed his own infatuation and her aſcendancy. With frantic liberality he ſcattered the provinces of the Roman empire: To the kingdom of Egypt, he added Lybia and Cælo-Syria; and aſſociated with the queen, Cæſario, whom he affected to conſider as the lawful ſon of Julius Cæſar. To his own children by that princeſs he aſſigned the moſt wealthy regions of the Eaſt: To Alexander, the eldeſt, were allotted Armenia, Media, and Parthia, the conqueſt of which Antony deemed already certain; and to Ptolomy, the youngeſt, were reſerved Phænicia, Upper Syria, and Cilicia.

The activity and prudence of Octavius were advantageouſly contraſted with the indolence and extravagance of Antony. The former had exerciſed his legions, and endeavoured to efface the ſuſpicions which had been entertained of his perſonal courage, in a dangerous but ſucceſsful warfare with the hardy inhabitants of Dalmatia and Pannonia: The ſpoils of his victories he had devoted to the embelliſhment of the capital; and the example of Octavius was imitated by the uſeful magnificence of his faithful friend Agrippa. Ancient aqueducts were reſtored, and new ones conſtructed;

ſtructed; one hundred and thirty reſervoirs collected, and one hundred and five fountains diffuſed through the city a conſtant ſupply of ſalubrious water; an hundred and ſeventy baths, glittering with marble, were perpetually open for the accommodation of the citizens. But the moſt ſtupendous enterpriſe was cleanſing the common ſewers: Thoſe eternal fabrics, which immortalize the name of the Tarquins, had long been neglected, and were entirely obſtructed; the daring genius of Agrippa poured the ſtream of ſeven rivers through the ſubterraneous paſſage; and he is ſaid to have embarked himſelf on the artificial navigation, and to have paſſed to the Tiber under the ſtreets and buildings of Rome.

The populace were amuſed by ſpectacles and entertainments, and were gratified by repeated donations of wine and corn. But amidſt the acclamations of the Weſt, the eyes of Octavius were inceſſantly directed towards the Eaſt. The modeſt beauties of Octavia were ill calculated to inflame the ſenſual mind of Antony, who himſelf was but little capable of ſentimental delicacy: The former had paſſed over to Greece with the deſign of preſenting herſelf to the latter in Syria, as he proceeded on his intended expedition againſt Parthia. The jealouſy of Cleopatra was awakened by the propoſed interview with her more youthful rival;

rival; ſhe was frequently ſurpriſed in tears, and affected to ſink under the weight of her anguiſh. Her pretended ſorrows excited the real concern of Antony: The duty of the huſband was overwhelmed in the paſſion of the lover; Octavia received a cold and imperious mandate to return to Rome. She ſubmitted with ſilent reſignation to the harſh command; ſhe reſiſted with firmneſs the ſolicitations of her brother, to renounce the hand and retire from the houſe of her unworthy conſort; and the reputation of Antony was more fatally wounded by her fidelity and obedience, than it could have been by her clamours or reproaches.

The injury offered to Octavia was the ſignal of open hoſtilities between her brother and her huſband. The inſatiate thirſt of ambition was inflamed by private reſentment: It is probable Octavius, from his earlieſt entrance on the theatre of public life, had cheriſhed the idea of ſucceeding to the authority as well as the name and fortunes of Cæſar; he had united or broken with every party as his own intereſt had dictated; he had ſucceſſively protected and proſcribed the aſſaſſins of his uncle; had flattered and oppreſſed the feeble Lepidus; had treated with, and atchieved the deſtruction of, the unſuſpecting Pompey; and ſole maſter of Italy and the weſtern provinces, U. C. 721.

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he was enabled to brave the power of his remaining competitor for empire. He prepared for the conteſt with an alacrity which but ill correſponded with his former caution: To the indignant multitude and obſequious ſenate, he diſplayed the follies and exceſſes of his colleague; dwelt with pleaſure on his ſcandalous connexion with the Egyptian queen; his injurious diſtribution of the provinces of the Roman empire; and profeſſed his own intention to reſign the illegal power he had occupied, and to reſtore the freedom of the republic.

His artifices were retorted by the addreſs, and his feelings inſulted by the reſentment, of Antony. The latter bound himſelf by a ſolemn oath, in ſix months after he ſhould have relieved Italy from the tyranny of Octavius, to re-eſtabliſh the commonwealth, and mingle with his fellow-citizens: At the ſame time he formally repudiated Octavia; proclaimed his marriage with Cleopatra; and declared open war againſt his rival.

The mutual invectives of the exaſperated competitors might influence or amuſe the Romans; but their pretenſions could only be aſſerted in a field of battle; and their hopes and paſſions might well have juſtified their immediate encounter: Yet ſome delay neceſſarily aroſe from the magnitude of their pretenſions; and it required

quired no inconſiderable portion of time to collect and unite the ſcattered forces of the Roman world.

It was not until the ſpring, that the diligence of Octavius had aſſembled at Brunduſium eighty thouſand legionaries and twelve thouſand cavalry: Determined to involve his antagoniſt in all the difficulties of a defenſive war, he inſtantly embarked his troops, and with a favourable wind, and under the convoy of two hundred and fifty ſhips of war, he reached the promontory of Acroceraunus; a ſtation which had been rendered auſpicious by firſt receiving the legions of Cæſar when he paſſed over into Greece to contend for empire with Pompey. U. C. 722.

Though indolent and luxurious in proſperity, the vigour and ability of Antony had been diſplayed in adverſity; and it was preſumed that the importance of the preſent conteſt would have called forth thoſe qualities which had recommended him to the confidence of Cæſar, and which had enabled him to triumph over Brutus and Caſſius. But every virtue ſeems to have withered in the embraces of Cleopatra; an hundred thouſand infantry, and twelve thouſand cavalry, marched indeed beneath his banners; and the moſt diſtant kings of the Eaſt obeyed his ſummons; but a band of Greek comedians formed the choiceſt part of his retinue. The remonſtrances of his moſt

faithful friends could not divide him from the ſide of Cleopatra; and the luxury of his table might well juſtify the ſarcaſtic queſtion: "What re-"joicings will theſe people make for a victory, "who indulge in ſuch ſumptuous entertainments "on the eve of a dangerous war?"

On the oppoſite ſhores of the gulf Ambracia, which opens into the channel that ſeparates the iſlands of Corcyra, Leucada, and Cephalonia, the hoſtile forces of Octavius and Antony, from Toryné and Actium, vigilantly obſerved each other's motions. A general diſtruſt had prevailed through the party of the latter; the aſcendancy and arrogance of Cleopatra had eſtranged from his preſence his moſt able adherents; even his own reſolution ſeems to have wavered as the hour of action approached; and in a council, in which the queen of Egypt preſided, it was determined to retire to Alexandria, if the enemy permitted them to paſs unmoleſted; but if attacked, to riſk the empire of the Roman world on a naval engagement.

The courage of Antony had been diſplayed, and his reputation eſtabliſhed, on the field of Philippi; his manners had endeared him to the veterans of the legions; and the ſoldiers admired in their general the virtues and vices they practiſed themſelves. Yet the influence of Cleopatra prevailed

vailed on him to neglect the repreſentations of his friends, and to abandon the advantages which he evidently poſſeſſed at land; on board two hundred and thirty large veſſels, he embarked twenty thouſand legionaries; and advanced in order of battle towards the fleet of his rival.

The cautious ſuggeſtions of Octavius yielded to the daring counſels of Agrippa; the ſignal for action was diſplayed; and the armies from the oppoſite ſhores remained the anxious ſpectators of the important conflict. The ſhips of Antony were ſuperior in ſize; thoſe of Octavius were lighter, and his mariners had been trained in repeated conteſts with Pompey. The battle yet raged with doubtful violence; when Cleopatra, confounded by the ſhouts and groans of the combatants, acknowledged the fears of her ſex, and fled in diſmay from the ſcene of ſlaughter: Her galley, conſpicuous by its purple ſails and gilded poop, revealed to the fleet her ignominious flight; and ſixty Egyptian veſſels deſerted their ſtations, and followed the inglorious example of their queen. The heart of Antony was ſtill the ſlave of that princeſs; and to the impulſe of a moment he ſacrificed for ever his fame and his fortunes: He turned his back to the enemy; and, winged by love, overtook, and entered, the flying galley of Cleopatra.

Though diſcouraged by the ſhameful deſertion of their chief, and oppreſſed by the ſuperior numbers of their adverſaries, the fleet of Antony ſtill maintained an honourable, though ineffectual reſiſtance: The ſetting ſun beheld their total defeat; and the ſlaughter of twelve thouſand legionaries might witneſs the obſtinacy of the vanquiſhed or the cruelty of the victors.

The army of Antony had been ſpectators of the flight of their general, and the deſtruction of his fleet; and their acquieſcence under the authority of the conqueror was juſtified by a review of their ſituation. The legions, uninflamed by party zeal, were allured into civil war by liberal donatives, and ſtill more liberal promiſes. A defeat, by diſabling the chief from the performance of his engagements, diſſolved the mercenary allegiance of his followers; and left them to conſult their own ſafety by a timely deſertion of an unſucceſsful cauſe. It was of little moment to the provinces under whoſe name they were oppreſſed; they were driven by the impulſion of the preſent power; and as ſoon as that power yielded to a ſuperior force, they haſtened to implore the clemency of the conqueror. The battle of Actium had decided the fate of the competitors; Europe, Africa, and Aſia, ſubmitted to, and were eager to congratulate the victor; and Egypt alone offered

fered a feeble and doubtful barrier to the ambition of Octavius.

While the ſucceſsful Octavius exulted in the fulneſs of proſperity, the wretched Antony was diſtracted by ſhame and indignation. His ſilence betrayed the anguiſh of his ſoul; and for ſome days he maintained a ſullen reſerve towards the fatal enchantreſs whoſe baneful influence had overwhelmed him with diſgrace and calamity. But the charms of Cleopatra were too powerful to be long reſiſted; and her infatuated lover, after a vain attempt to arm in his ſupport the legions of Africa, retired to Alexandria; reſumed a life of luxury and riot; and amidſt dance and revelry, awaited the approach of his rival as the ſignal of his diſſolution.

Yet in the midſt of this apparent indifference to life, both Antony and the queen ſubmitted at times to make advances to Octavius, and to ſue for mercy. The meſſengers of the former were diſmiſſed in ſilence; but Cleopatra was inſtructed to hope that ſhe might yet merit the favour of the conqueror, by abandoning the ſinking fortunes of his competitor.

After a ſhort viſit to Rome, which U. C. 723.
was ſucceſsfully employed in calming the angry ſpirits of the victorious legions, whoſe ſeditious clamours demanded the inſtant reward

of

of their toils; Octavius, impatient to eſtabliſh by the death or captivity of his rival, his undiſputed empire over the Roman world, embarked again for Aſia. He was received into Peluſium, probably with the connivance of Cleopatra; and at the head of a numerous army preſſed forwards to Alexandria. His approach tranſiently revived the warlike ſpirit of Antony; he aſpired to a glorious death in arms; and ſallying from the gates of the capital of Egypt, charged with his martial band the cavalry of his enemy. The efforts of deſpair were felt and reſpected; the adverſe ſquadrons fled in confuſion before his ſword; the ſtreets of Alexandria witneſſed his triumph; and elated by the gleam of returning fortune, Antony diligently collected the fleets and armies of Egypt, and propoſed on the ſame day to encounter his rival by ſea and by land.

He was ſoon taught to diſtinguiſh the involuntary impulſe of valour from that courage which is animated by hope and guided by reaſon: His forces already deſpaired of the unequal conteſt; the fleets of Egypt iſſued from their harbour only to ſubmit to the ſummons of Octavius; his cavalry deſerted him; his infantry was routed; and as he entered Alexandria, abandoned and diſconſolate, his indignant murmurs were heard to accuſe the fidelity of the Egyptian queen.

The

The prudence or guilt of Cleopatra might well be alarmed by the ſuſpicions of a deſperate or injured lover: She had concealed herſelf from his immediate anger in a ſtrong and ſtately edifice which had been erected for her ſepulchre; and the report of her death was artfully and induſtriouſly circulated. The intelligence was received by Antony as the final extinction of his hopes and fears. Fame and empire were no more; and love alone, that had remained to gild the gloom of exiſtence, was now alſo withdrawn. Impatient of further delay, he threw himſelf with Roman fortitude on his ſword; his fall alarmed his attendants; their officious zeal raiſed him from the ground, and informed him of the ſafety of Cleopatra. The dying lover was conveyed to the preſence of his miſtreſs; the expiring lamp of life ſeemed reſtored by her ſight; he exhorted her not too deeply to reflect upon the cruel change of fortune which he had experienced in his latter days, but rather to think of that glory and renown in which he had lived ſo long; and that after he had been the firſt man in the world, and the moſt illuſtrious of the Romans, he was at length overcome by a Roman. He concluded with adviſing her to preſerve her life, if ſhe could, conſiſtent with her dignity; and after calling for a draught

of

of wine, and ſwallowing it eagerly, breathed his laſt in the fifty-third year of his age.

The ſame meſſenger announced to Octavius the death of Antony and the ſubmiſſion of Alexandria. He affected to weep at the firſt, but he diligently prepared to avail himſelf of the laſt: He entered in triumph the proſtrate city; the effeminate Alexandrians beheld with terror the ferocious aſpects of his martial followers; but their lives were ranſomed at the expence of their treaſures; and Octavius conſented to pardon, where his intereſts were not concerned to puniſh.

The fate of Cleopatra remained yet to be decided; and the pride of Octavius would have been flattered by leading in chains the captive queen of Egypt. He condeſcended to an interview; and endeavoured to reconcile her to life by inſidious aſſurances of reſpect. It is probable that Cleopatra, confident in her charms, cheriſhed the hope of captivating the heart of the conqueror. The artificial politeneſs of the cold-blooded youth ſoon recalled her to more magnanimous ſentiments; ſhe ſcorned to ſolicit the pity of Octavia, or to expoſe her beauteous form to the inſult of the Roman populace; with manly firmneſs ſhe applied the deadly aſp to her arm. Her example was imitated by her faithful attendants, Iras and Charmion; as the latter ſlumbered on the verge of death, her attention

attention was awakened by the intrusion of an officer from Octavius. "Is this well done?" exclaimed the Roman, as he surveyed the mournful spectacle. "Extremely well," replied the expiring Charmion; "and becoming a princess "descended from so illustrious a race of mo-"narchs."

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

attention was awakened by the inquiry of an officer from Octavius. "Is this well done?" exclaimed the Roman, as he viewed the mournful spectacle. "Barbarously well," replied the expiring Chieftain, "and becoming a prince's "descended from [illegible] race of monarchs."

MUSEUM BRITANNICUM

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.